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A TIME OF UNIVERSAL PROSPERITY AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

WHILE the errors of the past constitute the wisest lessons of the future, the following episode in western history may be read with profit. The story is not new, but may derive some additional interest from the individual experience of the writer.

The years 1835, 1836 and 1837 were to Michigan one of those "periods of unexampled prosperity" with which our country has been periodically favored. In its character and results no better example has occurred in our history. This prosperous condition had begun to manifest itself in the extraordinary demand for wild lands, and in the sudden appreciation of the immense advantages possessed by a great number of places in the "west," and particularly in newly opened Michigan, for the building up of large cities. That the Peninsula possessed unequalled "water privileges" could not be doubted by anyone who recognized its position on

the map of the United States, almost surrounded by the waters of the great lakes. Interior lakes, too, were numerous, and large and rapid streams everywhere intersected the land. At least this was the case so far as the country was known, for the government surveys had extended over not more than one-third of its surface. These surveys had opened to sale at the low price of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, a most beautiful and varied country of "oak-openings" and timbered lands, with occasional small rolling prairies, all interspersed with lakes and streams. What a mine of wealth lay in a few thousand, or even a few hundred acres of such lands at the low price of a dollar and a quarter per acre.

From the very beginning of the period we are considering, and even before, a steady stream of immigration had begun to pour into the territory. It consisted mostly of people of means and

respectability from the older states, led by the prospect of cheaper lands. Wagons loaded with household goods and surmounted by a live freight of women and children—the men trudging on foot—were constantly entering by the almost only door, Detroit, in great numbers, bound for some paradise in the new Eldorado. A curious spectacle at one time presented itself—literally a *drove* of men—Frenchmen from lower Canada—taken on by an adventurer to be settled upon the River St. Joseph, at the mouth of which, in the olden time, their countrymen had built a “fort” among the savages. Each had his pack, bound up in a blanket, upon his shoulders, and the baggage followed in a wagon, for the United States government had opened a road in that direction leading from Detroit to Chicago.

Men who never before saw a wilderness were tempted to set forth, on horseback and on foot, in the spirit which prompted so many gentlemen adventurers, in the early settlement of the New World, to swell the ranks of the colonists—the prospect of speedy and golden fortunes. The numbers that crowded to the search soon converted the ordinary slow process into a race.

Three land offices had been opened by the government in Michigan—one at Detroit, one at Monroe, another near the western extremity of the known portion of the territory at Kalamazoo, then called Bronson. The strife and eagerness which prevailed at these offices passed all sober bounds. They were besieged long before the hour

arrived for opening; crowds of anxious faces gathered about the doors and blocked up the windows, each eager to make “entry” of some splendid tract of farming land, or better still, some magnificent site for a town, before an equally greedy speculator should discover and pounce upon the treasure.

One of these land-lookers, who had been for days traversing the woods and “taking notes,” if he chanced to fall in with some one who was suspected of having seen the coveted tract, secretly hurried off, in the dead of night, determined to steal a march upon the others and secure the prize. Often, after an exhausting ride and a still more tedious waiting for his turn, he obtained his chance at the window, only to learn that a more wary applicant had been beforehand with him. What exaltation if he found himself in time! What execration upon his ill fate if too late!

At the hotels were gathered animated crowds, from all quarters of the country, of speculators in lands. Every one who had secured some fortunate entry was busily proclaiming his good luck, and calculating his gains. The less fortunate, and those who were unable to convert themselves into woodsmen, were satisfied to take the accounts of others on trust, and buy at second hand, of course at a very large advance, expecting in their turn to realize a handsome increase.

Beautifully engraved maps of new city plots were executed in all haste, on which the contemplated improvements were laid down. Hotels, warehouses and banks were here erected, like

palaces in fairy land ; piers projected into the harbors, and steamboats were seen entering. Wherever a crowd could be collected auctioneers were knocking down lots to eager buyers, and happy was he who secured one with a "fine water privilege," at a price a thousand fold beyond its first cost of a few days before. Nor were these improvements all upon paper. In an incredibly short time small clearings had been effected, a town plat surveyed—often half a hundred miles from the nearest actual settler—and shingle palaces arose in the wilderness, or amid the burned stumps that were left for time to remove. Prominent among these, and often the only buildings erected preliminary to the sale of lots, were a hotel and a bank.

At the admission of Michigan into the Union, in 1836, the territory contained fifteen chartered banks, with a population estimated at nearly one hundred and fifty thousand. These banks were all authorized to issue "currency." Why should these few enjoy a monopoly of so good a thing as money, which benefited all alike, and of which there could not be too much? Consequently one of the first acts of the new state government, March, 1837, was to pass a general banking law. Thus by a bold stroke monopoly was abolished, while bill-holders were made exceptionally secure by a pledge of real estate. Of this everybody held large quantities, and nothing had proved so convertible. Confidence in it was unbounded. Of course every proprietor of a "city" started a bank.

These became so numerous that

money was one of the most plentiful of commodities. The new currency was made redeemable in gold and silver, and every bank was required to keep in its vaults thirty per cent. of its circulation in the precious metals. When to these precautions was added the real estate pledged for the redemption of the bills, and the whole placed under the supervision of commissioners specially appointed, and who were to visit and examine the banks every few months, could reasonable man ask for more ample security?

The banks of eastern states also had a large circulation in the west, and they expanded to the full extent of their powers. The effect of such rapid increase of the circulating medium was to enhance prices of all commodities, and to stimulate speculation. Money became flush in every pocket, and all who had "the fever"—and few had not—were anxious to invest and own one or more of these farms and city lots that were held at such high value, and were making every holder rich. Poor women, who had accumulated a little spare cash, widows and sewing girls were only too thankful when some kind friend volunteered to put them in the way of realizing some such fortunate investment. The southern counties of Michigan were speedily bought up, and the government surveys were not rapid enough to satisfy the greed.

Stimulated by the abounding sunshine, the state, too, had entered the arena, in its official capacity, and undertaken a vast system of internal improvements, for which its bonds were outstanding to

the amount of five million dollars. But already storm-clouds were gathering which were soon to darken the whole heavens. As a ship, which for many days has sailed gallantly on its course under favoring winds, with all its canvas spread, is forced to take in sail when a shift of the wind threatens a gale, so the banks, which had so greatly "expanded" in the breezes of universal prosperity, found it necessary to "contract" at the first suspicion of a change. Suddenly the storm fell. At the first demand to realize for their bills in specie the banks were compelled to call in their circulation. As the whole amount of specie in the country was far below the amount of paper in circulation, many banks broke under the large demand which fell upon them as soon as the public became suspicious of their ability to pay. All were forced to contract their loans, and money was rapidly being called in instead of being liberally paid out as before.

Money speedily became "tight." As few banks were able to sustain the pressure, it became necessary, in the view of the public authorities, to exercise the power, where it existed, to suspend specie payments. Accordingly an act was passed to that effect by the state legislature, which was summoned for that purpose by the governor, June, 1837, only three months after the passage of the general banking law. It was thus hoped to tide over the pressure, which was believed to be but temporary.

Prior to the passage of this act, about twenty banks had registered and gone

into operation under the general law. As the act did not repeal this law, many more took advantage of the privilege afforded by it of issuing irredeemable paper; so that before the inevitable end came no less than fifty banks were scattering their worthless notes as far and as widely as means could be found to effect it. But the end was close at hand. Prices fell with as magical a facility as they had risen. The real estate security of the new banks, which was supposed to be so stable, was suddenly found to be the weakest security possible. In the matter of the percentage of specie required to be kept in the vaults, it was found that the grossest frauds had been practiced. Kegs filled with nails and broken glass, and having only an upper layer of coin, had been substituted in many instances, and were passed as genuine. In other cases, one institution loaned temporarily to another, that was about to receive a visit from the commissioners, and the favor was reciprocated when its turn came. One by one, in rapid succession, the banks toppled to the earth, from which, like mushrooms, they had sprung, as it were, in a night. They were known universally under the name of "wild-cats." The most worthless were styled "red-dog." The bills fell to a mere nominal value, or greatly depreciated, as it became known that the real estate held would suffice to redeem only a small fraction of the circulation. Much of this was found to be of no value whatever, as it represented merely swindling operations. Many a poor man thus lost all his available means of livelihood.

Many anecdotes were told of these hollow institutions, and many a joke was perpetrated at their expense, which would be laughable enough were there not, in sober sadness, less occasion for mirth than for tears and curses. I vouch for the authenticity of the following:

One of the Michigan banks had gained an unusual share of notoriety, under the name of "The Bank of Sandstone." It was "located" at a place of that name, situated in the central part of the state, where quarries of a fine grit-stone had recently been opened. These constituted the entire commerce of the little burg, and the solid corner-stone of the new institution, whose promises to pay were in wide circulation. An old resident of Michigan held a large quantity of these bills, and learning that the bank was "broke," came to my informant, in great distress, for advice. He was advised to go immediately to Sandstone and demand redemption, as it was understood the bank had some means, and the usual way was "first come, first served." The advice was followed. The man, on his return, called on his adviser, who inquired after his success, and was assured that it was quite complete. "I presented my roll," said he, "and was paid as follows: For every ten dollar bill, a millstone; for every five dollar, a grindstone, and for every one dollar bill a whetstone!"

The year 1838 saw as "hard times" in Michigan as the two previous years had witnessed a seeming prosperity. Men of supposed large wealth, and who owned thousands of acres of wild lands,

valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars, were unable to buy provision for their families, and knew not where to look for the supply of their daily wants. Farmers had neglected to cultivate their farms in the struggle to amass land. The new cities, which the magic wand of speculation had created, were left without inhabitants. Trade was paralyzed for want of money, and prices fell below the old standard. To add to the depreciation of real estate, a strong feeling arose among the actual settlers against non-resident proprietors. These were called "speculators," and many contrivances were resorted to to throw on them the burden of taxation. Thus, in opening new roads, the resident was permitted to work out his tax, at an easy rate, by an understanding with the overseers, while the law compelled the non-resident to pay a higher rate in money. Under the name of school-houses, large edifices were built and used for town meetings, and religious worship. The non-resident land-owner was charged with keeping out settlers by raising the price of land, in forgetfulness of the fact that the very tide of speculation had been the means of opening up the country to future settlement. Land which had constituted the sole wealth of thousands became a drug. Large tracts were frequently abandoned to the tax-gatherer for a sum which a few years previous would not have bought a single acre. The bank did not outlive the destruction of the wealth they had fictitiously created. In two years from the act which gave them birth, it is believed, not a "wild-cat" nor "reddog"

of them all was in existence. But they left from one to two millions of dollars of their worthless bills in the hands of creditors. Four or five chartered banks only survived, and they proved fully sufficient for the wants of the population for years to come.

The year following the crash of 1838, the writer had occasion to visit the *ruins* of several of those renowned cities that had flourished so magnificently—on paper. One of these was situated on a small stream which discharged into Lake Michigan. Most of the streams on this side of the Peninsula have lakes near their outlets, originating in the setting back of the water, occasioned by the sand bars at their mouths. These lakes are often large and deep enough for very fine harbors, but which can be made available only by the construction of piers.

The village of Port Sheldon was "located" at the outlet of one of these streams—the smallest of its kind, and without depth of water sufficient for a harbor. But one road led to it from the nearest and still distant settlement. It was in the midst of a tall forest of pines and other timber, very few of which had been cut away. The clearing disclosed a large frame building, handsomely finished outwardly, but a mere barn within, and by its side a smaller one, decorated with Grecian pillars. These were the hotel and the bank. And they were the only buildings in the place, if we except a few shanties scarcely decent for the abode of the most poverty-stricken. The bank had collapsed; the hotel was without

guests; the splendid bubble had burst, and its brilliance vanished suddenly and forever. In 1865 the whole town plat, consisting of two hundred acres of very poor land, was sold for a petty sum. The long abandoned and desolate site, of which its projectors had published with prophetic foresight so many years before—"Nature seems to have done almost everything for this point, and the time is at hand when her eminent advantages will lift her to the first rank among our cities of the lakes"—was now the owlish abode of a solitary Dutchman.

Another of these town sites, which had made a great noise, was situated near the mouth of Maumee bay of Lake Erie. It was on low, marshy land, which had been regularly laid out in streets and some twenty or more buildings erected. The high water of 1838 had converted into a marsh the whole site. All the buildings were deserted and the city was without an inhabitant. Two of the houses were pointed out—among the handsomest in the place—that had been built by poor milliner girls, who had invested in them all their earnings. They could not be approached, except by boat. This was the Port of Havre, the rival of its namesake, in the dreams of its founders and of their credulous victims, for one short year before the waters of desolation swept away its glories.

One of the first found and most famous sites was "White-rock City." It was upon the shore of Lake Huron, at the mouth of a pretty rivulet. Maps of this "city" had been scattered far

and wide, and lots sold and resold at fabulous prices. These maps represented a large and flourishing town upon a magnificent river. Piers projected into the harbor, which was filled with steamboats, and it was evident that a thriving commerce had begun. I visited this place, during a coasting voyage, in the fall of 1837. The only approach was by the lake, for it was far removed from any road and forty miles from the nearest inhabitant, except a solitary backwoodsman. A large boulder rock in the lake marked the "harbor." The "river" was insufficient for the entrance of our log canoe. An unbroken and unsurveyed forest covered the whole site. We could not find even a solitary ruin standing alone, like that at Heliopolis, in the Egyptian desert, to mark the place of departed grandeur.

At a few of the really "eligible" sites thriving villages have since sprung up, the government having aided to build harbors, or natural advantages existing. But most of these town sites still retain their valuable privileges unimproved, and their owners have either abandoned hope, or continue to pay taxes on some undivided one-hundredth part of a fractional "forty," purchased at city prices, that is not even marketable as farming land.

The financial reverses of 1838 were followed by another calamity, which added greatly to the distress of the settled population of the state. The season of 1839 proved very sickly. Among the permanent improvements made during flush times were numerous mills, almost every one of which formed a nucleus

for a settlement. No labor or thought had been bestowed upon clearing the stumps and fallen timber from the mill ponds, and this proved a formidable source of malaria.

In the fall of that year I passed through many hamlets, and even considerable villages, where a quarter part of the population were down with fever and ague. I had often to ride miles beyond my intended resting place, because at the tavern where I applied the family were too ill to wait upon me. At others I was enabled to find supper and a bed for myself, but had to seek accommodation for my horse where I could find it. Having myself had a touch of the ague, I carried a stock of quinine in my saddle-bags. These old-fashioned appurtenances sometimes caused me to be hailed as "doctor." On one of these occasions, finding what was the medicine required, I did not hesitate to allow the mistake to go uncorrected, made the professional visit, administered the pills, but, undoctor-like, departed without my fee.

Reaching Monroe late one evening, I anticipated no difficulty in finding comfortable quarters, for this place was, in name, at least, a city, and second only in importance to Detroit. As I entered the street, I overheard a conversation, in which occurred the not very comforting remark—"Tom, you must make the next coffin; I have worked myself almost to death at it the last week." Even in this old city it was only after much trouble that I succeeded in quartering myself in one place and my beast in another.

Most persons only laughed at those who were so unfortunate as to be seized with "fever and ager," as the popular term was for this diresome disease, as if it were matter of course that everyone must have his turn at shaking like a lamb's tail. The rival cities of Monroe and Toledo were constantly bantering each other upon the insalubrity of their neighbor's location. But this year the subject was almost too serious a one for joking. Who has not noticed that we are often most inclined to make merry when we have greatest cause for sadness. So jokes carried the day. Sawmills were spoken of as driven by fever-and-ague-power. Villages were told of where the church bells were rung every half hour to mark the time for taking the inevitable quinine. On one occasion a traveler is said to have entered a village and searched in vain for a tavern. He found the streets deserted and grass-grown. At last he followed the one which showed the most marks of travel, and it led him to—the graveyard.

Since that period a great change has taken place in the salubriousness of the country, and, though intermittent diseases continue to be a prevailing type,

it is acknowledged that Michigan has proved to be as healthy a state as any in the Union. As great a change has taken place in the face of the country. The fever of speculation over, resident land owners applied themselves diligently to the cultivation of the soil. New settlers continued to pour in, though the stream was in part diverted to territory nearer the setting sun, the discovery being made that Michigan was too far east for emigrants bound westward, ho! The mania of speculation which had been considered by the new settlers so serious a drawback, proved a substantial benefit, from the numerous and solid improvements it brought about in a very brief time that would otherwise have been delayed many years. The hard times continued for almost a decade. It was not until a general bankrupt law had wiped out the load of debt which had overwhelmed a great part of the country, and the sufferers, taught by sad experience, had learned to pursue business in safer channels, that we date the return of substantial as well as universal prosperity.

BELA HUBBARD.

LO! THE POOR INDIAN!

'The Birthplace of Sa-Go-Ye-W. Ha, or the Indian Red Jacket,' the great orator of the Senecas, with a few incidents of his life, by Geo. S. Conover, Geneva, New York.

'Rights of Adoption by the Seneca

Indians on the Cattaragus Reservation,' June 15, 1885, by Hy-We-Saos, embracing a poem in Longfellow's Hiawatha measure, by Ga-Ya-Ses-Ha-Oh (Harriet Maxwell Converse).

'Sayenqueraghta, King of the Sene-

cas,' by Geo. S. Conover, Geneve, Ontario county, N. Y.

The above are titles to three pamphlets, the contents of which are somewhat apparent by their appellations. The confederation of the "Six Nations" of Indians who inhabited the state of New York has had but a limited history, and the present spirit of historic accuracy which has recently cropped out in the counties of Ontario and Seneca, of the Empire state is liable to bring to view many matters which were never embalmed by the art preservative of all arts. Community is indebted to the author of the above works, together with his friend Fred H. Furness of Waterloo, Seneca county, New York, for much that is being done to bring out of oblivion the early history of the red men who hunted over the hills and lakes of western New York, to say nothing respecting the savage butchery of the pale-faces at times when they sharpened their tomahawks and put new spurs on their war clubs.

It is perhaps as well that these enthusiastic historiographers of our day pass as lightly as possible over the brutal and savage method of warfare adopted by that same confederation of Six Nations. True they had not the advantage of modern civilization to temper their weapons, and yet they may compare well with much that has been done in the shape of *honorable warfare* in later years, for war of itself is but a relic of barbarism at best.

It appears of record that Conover and Furness have a warm side for the Indian,

and I would not say that they have endeavored to misrepresent the atrocities of the red man, but in all their public works they strive to build up rather than pull down the reputation of the tribes in which they have been adopted. And now, inasmuch as both Conover and Furness as well as the accomplished Harriet Maxwell Converse, have really become members by adoption, the one a chief of the Hungry Wolves, another of the Turtle clan, and the lady to become a queen in the Snipe clan, it will become a grave question whether this new addition to the fast disappearing race of red men will at once put on the war paint and become proficients in the use of the tomahawk and scalping knife, or whether their mission will not become one of a continual smoking of the pipe of peace. It would appear that this latter idea is the more probable, because the only emblem seen in these three publications is a representation of the historic pipe of peace. In this matter of adoption, will Mr. Conover's children become papooses, and when Mr. Furness gets him a wife will the lady be a squaw?

It appears that these confederate tribes of Indians, which have been known as the Six Nations, have become disbanded and widely separated, and the small remnant which remains upon lands reserved by government in the state of New York are making reasonable progress in the arts of civilized life. At the ceremony of "Adoption," so carefully described in the above work, it is to be observed that a wide range of advancement had been made by the

nations since General Sullivan came, with hostile intent, among them.

Mr. Conover is most indefatigable in his efforts to bring out more reliable history of his friends and adopted brothers, especially that part of their lives which more especially connects them with the region of Seneca lake. From the mound near the old castle at Geneva he has unearthed the skull of a child, which he claims disproves the old theory that none but adults were suffered to be buried in these sacred mounds. A careful study of the volumes which are outside of books has led Mr. Conover to become a reliable historian respecting the movements of the red men who moved among the hills and valleys of Genesee. The rare collection of the implements of war and peace that are scattered about his room in Geneva are positive earnests of his great interest in the matters which appear to absorb most of his leisure moments. It may not matter much to the present or any future generation which route Sullivan came down upon the enemies of the government in the region of Seneca lake, yet a repetition of the manner he treated them helps to fill up the measure of our nation's history, and we are continually eager to get at the more interesting facts.

It took nearly one hundred years to erect a suitable monument to the memory of the father of our country, and many of the Presidents lie in unmarked graves, but Red Jacket has a fitting obelisk in the shape of a huge boulder that people can look upon and pass on, reflecting that he once bore a mighty

power among his own people and held his enemies in constant dread.

The government has not, under any administration, settled down upon a given policy to deal with the Indians. When their lands are needed a law is passed to treat with them, drive them further away and pay them in trinkets, whisky and promises of future annuities; then the agents continue to swindle them out of everything like what was reasonable for them to have, then the idle natives gather around the warehouses of the agency, get drunk and mad and raise a particular muss generally, often laying to and slaughtering about every pale-face they come across. The great slaughter of the white people in Minnesota in 1862 appeared to have been brought on in consequence of ill treatment by the swindling agencies of the government. The kind-hearted Bishop Whipple has taken up the cause of the ignorant savage in that quarter, and a better state of things is likely to take place in the future. It is very evident that there is no person so savage but that he can be civilized.

The material in the hands of Mr. Conover and Mr. Furness are no doubt ample to form a hand-book of the present status of all the tribes which formed the "Iroquois," or that of the "Six Nations."

It appears that the name "Iroquois" was given to the confederation of the Five Nations, consisting of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks. Each of these was regarded as a nation with three tribes in each, and distinguished by their ensign of

tortoise, bear and wolf. They located mostly on the St. Lawrence river, and were somewhat engaged in agriculture, some portions of the tribes following hunting and fishing. The Algonquins appeared to fancy themselves of a superior race, and despised the Five Nations as a weak and inferior people, occupying themselves with trifling affairs fit only for squaws. A feud grew up between the Algonquins (or as they were sometimes known as the Adirondacks) and the Five Nations, when the former undertook to exterminate them. The Five Nations were not powerful enough to repel the incursions of the Algonquins, and therefore were forced to retreat and fly from the country to the shores of the small lakes in western New York. This is supposed to have occurred about the beginning of the seventeenth century. At once they took up the art of war in accordance with their crude notions and means, and became more or less expert in their new avocation. The sachems, in order to remove the dread of the Algonquins and inspire their people with a degree of confidence, led them against the Satanas, who then occupied the central parts of New York. They subdued them and drove them out of the country to the banks of the Mississippi. After they had exhibited this evidence of courage and warlike prowess, they next successfully withstood the whole force of the Algonquins. They followed this up by carrying war into the heart of the country and forced them to leave it and fly towards Quebec. The combatants met on the borders of Lake Champlain. The Five Nations had

never seen fire-arms, and the French, who had united with the Algonquins, keeping themselves concealed till the Indians became engaged, rose suddenly up and poured a deadly volley upon them. Panicstricken at the fearful effect of the attack, they fled, with great loss, from the field.

The French now influenced the Hurons and other tribes to join them in a war of extermination against the Five Nations. The Algonquins, thus reinforced, and being supplied with arms and ammunition, set out to destroy their enemies. But their young men, fond of adventure and refusing obedience to their superior officers, often attacked the foe rashly, and the latter observing this, soon began to profit by it. In the contests which followed, the steady bearing of the Five Nations became equal to that of their enemy, while they added largely to their numbers from the Satanas, whom they had taken prisoners, and induced them to take up arms against the foes of the Five Nations.

In a strategic point of view the Five Nations appeared to excel; they would bewilder the Algonquins, and the Hurons, their allies, by messages to the French, pretending to wish for peace, desiring to have some priests sent to them for religious instruction. When some Jesuits came they kept them as hostages, in order to force the French to remain neutral in their wars with the Algonquins. They then attacked and defeated the latter within ten leagues of Quebec, and had they known its weakness, might have destroyed the

French colony. The allies of the Algonquins, now struck with terror, fled in different directions. Soon after the Five Nations collected one thousand or one thousand two hundred men, and set out to pay a visit to the governor of Canada. On the way they met Piskaret, captured him, and, learning from him that the Algonquins were divided into two bodies, fell upon them and cut them to pieces. When the French first settled in Canada the Algonquins had one thousand five hundred warriors within a league of Quebec, but after this battle they never possessed any consequence as a nation. Piskaret was a bloodthirsty savage, darting single-handed among the tribes of the Five Nations, killing and scalping them while asleep in their wigwams. The Five Nations had become a powerful people; they extended their sway in every direction. They conquered the territory of the Delawares, or Lenapes, and compelled them to put themselves under their protection. They spread their victorious bands to Virginia and as far to the southwest as the mouth of the Ohio, while they subdued the nations as far east as the Connecticut river.

In 1684 the French made great efforts to detach the Five Nations from the English. They invited them to a conference. The Onondagas complied and sent one of their sachems and thirty warriors; the Senecas and others refused to be a party to the conference. The French commander, after reproaching the Indians, threatened them with vengeance if they did not conform to his views, but the sachem replied boldly

and avowed his determination to preserve peace, and the Frenchmen went home disappointed and chagrined. The Five Nations soon after this subdued the tribe of the Illinois, who had fought against them, and then prepared to go against the Miamis. The French determined to support their allies, and sent an order to all the Indians around Michilimackinac to assemble at Niagara and join them in an attack on the Senecas. The Pottawatomies and others assembled at the place of rendezvous, but here the Ottawas sought to divert them from their enterprise, not being willing to lose a gainful trade they then enjoyed with the English. After various preparations the French, with their Indian allies, marched towards the Seneca towns. The warriors of the latter tribe were on the alert. Five hundred or more lay in ambush, while the French scouts passed within pistol shot, and, not seeing them, reported that they could not see the enemy. The French pressed boldly forward, but, when they were about a quarter of a league from their village, the Senecas suddenly rose upon them with a discharge of their fire-arms, accompanied by the appalling warwhoop. This threw the militia, as well as the regular troops, into a fright, and such was the confusion that they fired on one another. The Senecas, perceiving their disorder, fell upon them till the French Indians at last rallied and repulsed them. This action so dispirited the French commander that he could not be induced to pursue his object; he halted till the next day, when he marched forward to burn the

village. But he now found that the Senecas had already laid it in ashes and disappeared. After destroying two other villages and the corn found there, he returned home to Canada. Instigated by new causes of dissatisfaction, the Five Nations invaded Canada with a large force, and pushed the war with such vigor as to take Montreal and lay it in ashes. One thousand of the French are said to have been killed and twenty-six taken prisoners, with the loss of but three men on the part of the Indians, who got drunk and remained behind. Had they understood the feeble condition of the French, and been relieved from the influence of the priests that were among them, especially the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas, the French settlements in Canada would probably have been totally ruined.

On the breaking out of the war of independence, the Six Nations were in alliance with Great Britain and under the influence of Sir John and Colonel Guy Johnson. They were led to take part in the hostilities against the colonies. The Indians were now living on the extended tract of country up the Mohawk valley, and reaching beyond the small lakes in the western part of the state of New York. The Mohawks had their seat in the vicinity of Johnstown; that of the Oneidas was near Lake Oneida, called Oneida castle; the Onondagas dwelt in the country around the lake of that name. Onondaga castle, as it was called, was the centre of the confederacy, and here was the grand council house where the council fires were kept perpetually burning.

The Cayugas were still further west, near Lake Cayuga, and the Senecas on Seneca lake. These nations had villages of well-constructed huts, fine orchards and fruitful fields. Through the influence of the English they had considerably advanced in civilization and had gathered round them many comforts. The colonists held a deep interest as to the part which these nations were to take in the opening contest, and negotiations were early entered into with them to secure, if not their alliance and friendship, at least their neutrality. This was undoubtedly the wisest position for the Six Nations to take; and the Oneidas, influenced by the persuasions of their good missionary, Kirkland, agreed to adopt it. The other nations, no doubt, might have been induced to do the same had it not been for the great weight of Sir John Johnson's influence with them, enforced by the presents received from the British governor of Canada, while the colonists were poor and unable to win them by the same means to their cause. The early successes of the Americans kept them quiet for a time, as they were afraid to venture on open hostilities. The Mohawks met in council, in 1775, at Guy Park, the seat of Colonel Guy Johnson, near the Mohawk. Their principal speaker was Little Abraham, the brother of Hendricks. Delegates also from Albany and other counties attended. These expressed their desire to maintain friendship with the inhabitants, but still the influence of Colonel Johnson operated unfavorably for the interest of the colonies. The Oneidas

and Tuscaroras likewise met at German Flats, with a committee from ten counties, and the pledge of neutrality was there given. Colonel Johnson convened another council soon after, composed chiefly of Cayugas and Senecas, the most numerous of the Six Nations. At this meeting the minds of the Indians were seriously alienated from the Americans; still they continued to receive the various commissioners sent them from congress, and professed a determination to preserve a neutrality in the opening war. The Mohawk leader at this period was Thayandaneca, or Joseph Brant, so famous in the history of the time. His first active participation in the contest was in 1776, on the St. Lawrence, at the battle of the cedars, ten miles above Montreal. He appeared then, it is said, at the head of six hundred Indians, principally the Caughnawagas and other tribes not including the Six Nations. The fact was scarcely known at that time by the Americans, who yet hoped to be able to preserve themselves from the open attacks of so formidable a foe.

The difference in opinion and feeling among the tribes, on the subject of the part to be taken in the war, was the cause of the dissolution, in 1777, of the confederacy of the Six Nations, which had so long existed, and which had contributed so much to their strength and civilization. The announcement of the rupture was made in a characteristic manner. Addressing Colonel Elmore, the officer in command at Fort Stanwix, the Oneida chief said:

Brother, we are sent here by the Oneida chiefs, in

conjunction with the Onondagas. They arrived at our village yesterday; they have brought in the melancholy news that the great council fire at Onondaga is extinguished. We have lost out of our town ninety, among whom are three principal sachems. We, the remaining part of the Onondagas, do now inform our brethren that there is no longer a council fire at the capital of the Six Nations.

They then requested that this intelligence should be forwarded to various American officers, and also to the Mohawks. From the dissolution of the confederacy may be dated the degeneracy of the race, which has at last left them but the recollection of their former greatness, while they are scattered far from their ancient seats of power and the graves of their sires.

A great council was held at Oswego, in which the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, with Brant as their acknowledged leader, took part, with other tribes from the west. Engagements to aid the British cause were entered into, and consequently Colonel St. Ledger, about the time General Burgoyne began his invading expedition by way of Lake Champlain, also set out with his forces of British and Canadian troops and Indian allies from Oswego to coöperate with Burgoyne by passing down the Mohawk valley and meeting him at Albany. As Fort Schuyler lay in his way, it was besieged on the third of August, 1777. The Indians, concealing themselves behind clumps of trees, greatly annoyed the garrison with their fire, while throwing up parapets for their defense. To relieve Fort Schuyler thus assailed, General Herkimer was sent forward from below. He apprised Colonel Gansevoort, the commander,

of his approach and urged his coöperation. Measures for this purpose were concerted, but delay prevented the union being effected before the enemy made their appearance at Oriskany. Here a severe battle was fought, and greatly to the disadvantage of the Americans in the outset, though they were finally victorious. The Indians bore a prominent part in this dreadful contest. It is said the Senecas were intoxicated, and in this condition lined into battle, under the idea they were only to smoke their pipes and see the British whip the rebels. Their loss was great, many of them being killed and wounded. It is supposed that on this occasion a large force was led on by Brant, consisting principally of Cayugas, Senecas and Mohawks. On the third of December, in the same year, congress made another effort to divert the Six Nations from the British service, but without effect. The Indians now entirely threw off their mask and sent out various parties to attack the settlements. Several skirmishes took place, among which may be mentioned the battle of Cobelskill between a party of regular troops and Schoharie militia, fifty-two in all, and a body of Indians four hundred and fifty strong. The latter were victorious and the Americans retreated with a loss of fourteen killed, eight wounded and two missing. The Indians then burned several houses, destroyed all the horses and cattle which they could not drive away, and took considerable other plunder. Strolling bands were continually prowling about the valley of the Schoharie and other

exposed situations, and many persons were killed or carried off as captives.

Among the expeditions of this period in which Brant and the Six Nations, as they were still called, though embracing but four of the tribes, were engaged in alliance with the British, we may particularly notice those which resulted in the destruction of the German Flats and the massacre at Cherry Valley. Yet the dreadful scenes at this latter place, as they are recorded in history, are too shocking for detail. Neither beauty, nor youth, nor innocence, nor age, nor piety formed the slightest protection against the ferocity of the savages and their worse than savage instigators. Every dwelling and barn in the village was set on fire, and thirty or forty prisoners of all classes and of both sexes were marched off, half naked and shivering, through the woods, to the far distant post of Fort Niagara. On their return to the Seneca country the savages celebrated their exploits by a dance of thanksgiving, sacrificing, as usual, a dog, and going through the various ceremonies of a scalp yell, while brandishing their knives and recounting their achievements in song.

In the autumn of 1778 occurred the celebrated massacre in the beautiful valley of Wyoming. This lonely spot was peopled with Germans and emigrants from New England, who lived in a state of enviable peace, comfort and content. On the first of July a force of one thousand two hundred British and Tories, with four hundred Indians, appeared on the Susquehanna and began with hostile operations. A brave resistance

was made by the settlers, but they were at last overcome, and the whole valley became a scene of the most fearful desolation. These terrific events have acquired immortality from the pen of Campbell, who made them his theme in the pathetic poem of "Wyoming."

In 1779, which was distinguished by the war of the western Indians, and the Shawanees and Delawares in the remote parts of Virginia, was also marked by the project of Brant for a combined attack on the friendly Oneidas. This led to an expedition to Onondaga, by the Americans, against that hostile tribe. The Indians abandoned their villages on the approach of the enemy, yet thirty-three of them were taken prisoners and a few slain. Three villages, consisting of nearly fifty houses each, were burned to the ground, a large amount of provision was destroyed; a hundred muskets and rifles, with a considerable quantity of ammunition constituted part of the booty.

The Onondagas now breathed vengeance, and three hundred of their warriors poured down on the valley of the Schoharie, where they plundered and burned Cobelskill, which had been settled by some twenty families since its destruction a year or two previous. The Mohawks also burst suddenly on the town of Mimsink and laid waste the settlement, burning, killing and plundering on every hand. A battle was fought between them, and a force sent from Goshen and its vicinity. It lasted from eleven A. M. till nightfall. The Americans, though superior in numbers, were defeated and forced to retreat, owing to

a successful ambuscade formed by the Indians and the failure of ammunition. A vigorous effort was now made by the Americans against the Senecas, the most numerous and ferocious of the Six Nations. General Sullivan, at the head of a large force, penetrated into their country and destroyed fifty towns and villages, some of them having fifty or a hundred houses. He also destroyed one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, and many extensive fields and fruitful orchards, some of them containing fifteen hundred trees. The lovely valley of the Genesee was thus transformed into a scene of desolation, and the nation was left houseless and ill prepared to encounter the severe winter of 1780. Previous to his reaching the Senecas, however, a severe battle took place at Chemung, in which the Indians fought with determined bravery, although defeated, and lost many of their brave warriors. In another engagement, at Newtown (Elmira), the whole force of the Senecas and the other Indians, variously estimated at from eight hundred to fifteen hundred, was routed with great slaughter. A tragic scene occurred at this period in the cruel death of Colonel Boyd, who belonged to General Sullivan's army, who, with a small party, was sent out on a scouting expedition. They were cut off by a squad of Indians, and being captured, the lieutenant was put to death with tortures too horrible to relate.

The devastation among the towns of the Senecas was not supposed to pass without retaliation. The hostile Indians, aided by the British, in 1780, in-

vaded the villages of the Oneidas and entirely destroyed their castle, church, and dwellings; the Oneidas were thus driven in this state of desolation upon the white settlements for protection and aid. The American government gave them support, fixing them till the close of the war at Schenectady and its vicinity.

Numerous incursions were made in the same year by the Indians, led on by Brant, who burned Canajoharie and took fifty-two prisoners, besides killing seventeen persons. One hundred and fifty houses and barns were burned, twenty-four people killed and seventy-three made prisoners.

The towns of Johnstown and Caughnawaga had recently been visited with the vengeance of the Indians, in connection with Sir John Johnson's invasion of the seat of his former residence. The Senecas, however, were still unsatisfied with revenge. Under Cornplanter, a famous chief of that nation, joined by Brant and some British troops, they again made their appearance in the valley of the Schoharie, with the intention of completing the work of destruction there. Some severe skirmishes ensued, but their purpose was in a great measure effected, and the whole region was left desolate. The Mohawk valley became the scene of a similar invasion. Here the enemy was overtaken and defeated at the battle of Klock's farm, and compelled to seek safety in flight.

In 1781 the Indians assisted at the battle of Durlagh, where, after a spirited attack and resistance, they were routed, leaving nearly forty dead on the field.

In October they were also present at the battle of Johnstown, and fought from noon till sunset, when they were forced to retreat. In the pursuit Butler, the notorious leader in the Cherry Valley massacre, was killed. This was the last expedition in which they were engaged previous to the close of the American War of Revolution. In the articles of peace between the mother country and her former colonies, no provision was made for the Indian allies of the English. The Mohawks, who had left their own country, were invited by the Senecas to take a tract of their territory, but they declined it, choosing, as they said, to sink or swim with the English. The latter then assigned to them a domain on the north side of Lake Ontario, upon the bay of Quinte. Not satisfied with this another, by their request, six miles on each side of the Grand river, from the mouth to its source, about forty miles above the falls of Niagara, was bestowed on them. In the meantime, the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations held a conference, in 1784, with the agents of the United States. There were representatives from the Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras and Seneca Abeal, or the Senecas of Cornplanter's clan, on the Allegheny. In the treaty that was concluded, the Six Nations relinquished a portion of their territory and were to be secured in possession of that which they then occupied. The treaty, however, did not satisfy the Indians, and both Red Jacket, the noted Seneca orator, and Brant, the Mohawk chief, were highly

displeased with its terms. A plan was laid by the latter for obtaining assistance from the English, in the event of a general Indian war with the United States, which he evidently had in contemplation. Questions of boundary originated further difficulties between the new republic and the Indians. In December, 1786, a grand council was held at Huron village, attended by the Six Nations, the Hurons, Ottawas, Miamis, Shawanees, Chippewas, Cherokees, Delawares, Pottawatomies and Wabash confederates. An address to the United States was agreed upon, pacific in its character, but it closed by suggesting, in case their views were not concurred in they should take the field to assert their claims by arms. Another council was held, in 1788, at which Brant succeeded in making further advances towards hostilities, but the purpose of the Mohawk chief was, for the present, defeated by the treaties of General St. Clair with the western Indians at Fort Huron, in 1789.

In 1791 the Six Nations, after the defeat of General Harmar by the western Indians, joined with them in sending a deputation to the British governor at Quebec, to inquire if British aid could be hoped for in the further prosecution of the war. They received but little encouragement from him, and Cornplanter used his efforts to prevent the warriors of the Six Nations from taking part in the contest, and to persuade the Miamis to peace. These and other efforts were but partly successful, for, in the battle which soon after took place, resulting in the defeat of General

St. Clair, it is said one hundred and fifty Mohawks, with their leader, were engaged.

Negotiations were carried on during the early part of the year 1792, and in the autumn, Cornplanter, with forty-eight chiefs of the Six Nations, thirty chiefs and warriors of the Mohawks and Canada Indians, with others from tribes beyond the Canada territory, visited the Miamis and held a council with a view to dissuade them from war. They succeeded only so far as to make them agree to suspend hostilities till spring, and then meet the United States in council for further deliberations.

The Six Nations desired, if possible, to bring about a peace, and a number of councils were held at which they were present, but their efforts were in vain. In consequence of a claim being set up by Pennsylvania on Presque Isle, the Six Nations were induced to assume a hostile attitude towards the United States, in 1794, and probably but for the interposition of Washington, withholding Pennsylvania from prosecuting her design, a collision would have been inevitable. The defeat of the western Indians by General Wayne effectually quailed the Six Nations, and Jay's treaty with Great Britain was soon followed by a general peace.

The Six Nations continued to reside in their respective territories. Missionaries were received among them, the Bible was translated into their language and numbers were converted to Christianity. The pacific feelings of this period are indicated by the fact that the Mohawks and Senecas met by mutual

challenge for athletic exercises, especially for matches of ball and cricket, which they had learned from the whites and in which they had become remarkably expert.

When the war between the United States and England broke out, in 1812, the Mohawks, led by John Brant, youngest son of the great chief, took part with the latter, and were present at a number of battles fought on the frontier. The Senecas and other tribes residing in the state of New York were on the side of the Americans. More recently numbers of them have removed to the west. But a feeble remnant of the once mighty confederacy is now to be found. They have also, by repeated transfers, become so intermingled with other tribes, that it is difficult to trace them. By a recent report of the Indian department it appears that west of the Mississippi there are about two hundred and fifty-one Senecas from Sandusky, and two

hundred and eleven Senecas and Shawanees; the whole number of New York Indians is estimated at three thousand two hundred and ninety-three. These probably include the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas, with such remnants of other tribes as may be found within the limits of the state of New York. By repeated cessions and sales of former reservations, they are dispossessing themselves of their ancient abodes, and the time is not far distant when scarcely a solitary Indian will be found where they once spread terror by their numbers and inhuman valor, exciting admiration as well as dread for their heroism and sagacity.

The historic matter herein embraced has been collected from Goodrich's compilation, 'Lives of Famous American Indians,' 'Life of Brant,' and other sources.

GEO. F. MARSHALL.

EARLY EDUCATION IN OHIO.

THE origin of the common school system in Ohio may be traced to the ordinance passed by congress in 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, which declared that "religion, morality and knowledge being essential to the good government and happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged." Two years before this enlightened sentiment was promulgated, con-

gress had provided for the division of the Northwest Territory into ranges and townships, to facilitate the sale of public lands. Each township was divided into thirty-six sections, the sixteenth section being reserved for the support of public schools within the township. The grant of land for school purposes was designed to encourage emigration to the unsettled regions of the then far west. The reservation of land for the maintenance

of public schools and other provisions of kindred character, provided in the early ordinances, indicate the sound judgment of those who were instrumental in framing them.

It is difficult to determine to what extent emigration was increased by the grant of land and other inducements held out to pioneers. History states that many of the early settlers were indifferent to the educational privileges, which a little zeal and energy on their part would have placed within their reach. It is not probable that such would be led to encounter the hardships of pioneer life for the free education of their children. The true pioneer, who formed the vanguard of the army of emigrants, and who sought permanent homes in the west, entertained liberal views on the subject of education. The early settlers of Ohio brought to their new homes ideas prevailing in the old state from which they came. If religion and education were considered of primary importance by the people of any one state, the sons and daughters were sure to carry these ideas with them, and swift to prove their early teachings by their acts. The reverse was equally true. From states in which a low standard of education and morals prevailed, came emigrants who were indifferent to their children's education. Under such circumstances, in the various settlements established before Ohio came into the Union, the educational aspect is widely different. In the parts settled by the former class, intelligence became universal, while in those parts settled by the latter class the evil results of the settlers'

indifference remained discernible for years. The earliest settlement in Ohio was at Marietta. In April, 1788, a little band of emigrants, under the direction of the Ohio company, landed near the mouth of the Muskingum river, and proceeded at once to lay out a town and erect rude dwellings. These pioneers were descendants of the early Puritan settlers of Massachusetts, and possessed many of the traits which distinguished their forefathers. Very soon the settlers of Marietta were enjoying the benefits of church and school. As soon as the infant settlement was fairly under way, the labors of Mr. Daniel Story, as minister and teacher, began. Before 1800 there were eight settlements in eastern Ohio, and in all education had received such consideration as the nature of the times would permit. A school for boys and girls, taught in the nunnery by Bethesba Rouse, was established at Belpre in 1790, and is mentioned by some authorities as the first school in Ohio for white children. It is a well authorized statement that the Moravians established schools for the Indians in different parts of Ohio several years before the settlement at Belpre and Marietta was begun. While these events were in progress in eastern Ohio, within the land purchased by the Ohio company, a small settlement, called Columbia, was begun on the Ohio river, a short distance from Cincinnati. Near the close of 1792 Francis Dunlevy, distinguished in Indian campaigns, opened a school at Columbia. The first permanent settlement in that part of Ohio known as the Western Reserve was not

till 1796, and two years later only two settlements were found in the whole Reserve. In 1802 a school was established at Harpersfield, which soon obtained a noted reputation. This is supposed to be the first school of the Western Reserve. The first teacher was Abraham Tappan. About this time a school was taught in Cleveland, Ohio, by Annie Spafford, in one of the log cabins. We see that the pioneer settlers of northeastern, southwestern and southeastern part of Ohio built and maintained schools amid all the perils and hardships that surrounded them. In regard to the settlements in the interior of the state less definite information can be obtained. With few exceptions, schools were opened as soon as the settlement was begun. Education was made a frequent topic of discussion in territorial legislation. Although nothing was done for the support of schools, the utterances of the members of the legislature were such as to leave no doubt that they estimated education as the stepping-stone to all greatness. The convention which met at Chillicothe, in 1802, for the formation of the state constitution, was composed of men who recognized the necessity and expediency of legislative action regarding education as the means of securing the welfare of the new state. It was made the imperative duty, by the terms of the first state constitution, that schools and the means of education be secured by such provisions as would not be antagonistic to our conscience. Another section of the instrument prohibited any legislative action tending to

prevent the poor from enjoying equally all the benefits arising from the donations made by congress for the support of schools and colleges. The ordinance of 1787 required that schools and the means of education be forever encouraged, but the first constitution of Ohio pointed out the means in which the encouragement should be extended mainly by legislative provision. From 1802 to 1821 the acts of the legislature regarding education, under the power conferred by the constitution, were confined to the passage of bills authorizing the incorporation of seminaries, religious and educational societies, and providing for the lease of school land. Nothing was done toward the establishment of schools by means of general or local taxation. The tardiness of the legislature in carrying out the constitutional requirements of state or local taxation may be due to the confident expectation that the revenues arising from the lands donated by congress might be enough for the support of the schools. Yet it must not be understood that there were none to lift up a voice to advocate a system of common schools. During the first twenty years of Ohio's existence, the men holding office were earnest in their endeavor to obtain a wise legislation on the part of the general assembly. Private citizens were not lacking who tried to show the legislature the importance of the trust confided to their keeping, and who were swift to denounce the power of abuse over the common school lands, by which the children of the next generation would be deprived of their just rights.

While these agencies of public character were at work for good or evil, private enterprise and means were engaged in giving to the youth of Ohio the simple rudiments of an education, which was no small undertaking, as the conditions of pioneer life were such as to render anything near an adequate provision for schools almost impossible. The pioneer must provide for the physical wants of himself and household before he could give attention to the higher demands of life. In a new settlement a certain amount of material property is required before the inhabitants are prepared to introduce any of the enlightened features of civilized life, necessary in ministering to the mental and moral culture of the people in the older localities. The early settlers of Ohio, as a rule, were too busy in erecting rude habitations, felling trees, hewing timber, fencing clearings, guiding plows through rocky grounds, and making passages to the mills and market, to allow them to give their attention to any other interest that could be deferred till a more convenient time. Hence it is not strange that school interests have been neglected, as muscular power was indispensable in improving a new country and in making money to pay for the homestead and to the tax-gatherer. So it happened that muscular power was at a premium, while intellect without bodily vigor was at a discount.

The pioneer schoolhouses in northern and eastern Ohio differed in many respects from those of the southern and western parts of the state. The settlers of the latter parts, coming from Georgia,

Virginia and Kentucky, did not appreciate the benefits of an education as did those of the former, who came from New England, where common schools were far in advance of those of any other part of the Union. The teachers of the southwestern Ohio pioneer schools were chosen more because they were unfit for manual labor than by reason of their intellectual worth. The few schools in that section were taught by crippled men and women, physically or constitutionally unable to pull hemp or spin flax. Before school laws effected a change in the school administrations of this locality, schools of worth were only found in large and populous cities. The estimation in which a teacher was held was not such as would induce a spirited young man or woman to enter upon the vocation. The teacher was regarded more as a pensioner on the bounty of the community. The capacity of a teacher to teach was no reason for employing him, but the fact that he could do nothing else. Under such conditions we might know what kind of instruction the children received. The people only demanded that their children could write a tolerably legible hand, read the Bible or almanac, and determine the value of farm produce, as it was thought education made boys lazy and tricky, while girls who were apt with their pencil were likely to be led astray by corresponding with a knave. A brighter picture presents itself in northern Ohio. At an early period schools were in a thriving condition in the Western Reserve. Among the pioneers were many who received

a college education second to none in America. There were very few holding narrow and restricted views on education but saw its value in a utilitarian sense and their notion of utility was broader than that of their southern neighbors. They would not confine their instructions simply to the wants of their physical nature, but would make it a strengthening agency to moral and mental attainments. The instruction which the children received bore early fruit. The social condition of the teacher was on an equal footing with the ministers and physicians. Society honored him, and his periodic visits to the pupils' houses were quite an event, and great preparations were made when he came. The teacher's qualifications were generally such that he commanded respect, many of them magnifying their office by contributing not a little to that public sentiment which demanded a recognition of school interest in the general assembly. The teacher found board and lodging in the house of his patrons. His evenings were spent with the family. If this did not give him opportunity for self culture, it was not without its advantages. Many an aspiring youth was led into new thought by coming in personal contact with the master in the home circle, and the seeds of knowledge, planted by the faithful teacher at the pioneer's fireside, sprung into vigorous life, yielding rich fruit. The teacher became intimately acquainted with the habits of the pupil, independent of the authority asserted in the school-room, being thus able to turn their traits of character to

his own assistance and their profit. Parents were awakened to a new interest in their children's instruction by the kind missionary work of the teacher. In other respects the pioneer schools were much alike. The teacher would draw up an agreement to teach a school for thirteen weeks, six days per week, and eight hours daily, at the rate of from one to two dollars for each scholar enrolled, one-half payable at the beginning of the term, perhaps in wheat at fifty cents a bushel, and the other in money at the close of the term. The teacher's work began when there were twenty scholars enrolled. The prevailing practice of the present day in the country of employing female teachers in the summer term and male teachers in the winter term prevailed all over the state. The teacher was obliged to spend three-fourths of his time in other labor, as the mere pittance gained by teaching was not enough to supply his wants. The mode of government was simple. A moral lecture was not recognized as necessary by pioneer teachers in school government, the neighboring forests, with fine sprouts, being regarded as just the thing to sharpen the wits and moral perceptions of the child. The text books were such as had been brought from the old settlement, few being fitted for school purposes. 'Murray's Reader' with the introduction, 'Columbian Orator,' 'American Preceptor,' Testaments, and not infrequently old almanacs were used as readers. The spelling books were 'Dilworth's Speller' and 'Webster's Easy Standard of Pronunciation.' 'Pike's Arithmetic' was a

universal favor in pioneer schools, and the teacher who could not teach as far as the rule of three soon lost the respect of the pupils and patrons. Geographies and grammars were very seldom seen in the hands of the pupils or teachers, as the instruction in most schools was very rudimentary, being composed of reading, writing, spelling, and the simplest rudiments of arithmetic. Reading and spelling were specialties, and were regarded as tests of scholarship. Spelling matches were second in importance only to the schools themselves. They were held in the evening and attended by old and young. A ride, or more frequently a walk, was an obstacle very easily conquered by persons desiring to enjoy the competition or dissatisfaction of rival schools when its last champion was spelled down. The school-houses in which these busy scenes took place often consisted of a vacant cabin which had been hastily built by some settlers and vacated as soon as a better one was found or the builder had left the settlement. Sometimes the settlers would exercise their ingenuity in architecture by building a house for school purposes, which was not much more comfortable nor was the material better. It was formed of rough hewn logs and was eighteen feet long and twenty-four feet wide. The eaves were ten feet from the ground. The roof was covered with clapboards, held in place by long poles running lengthwise. The openings between the logs were filled with wood, stones or other convenient materials, and plastered with mortar made from the ground near by. This work was

called mudding the house, and the directors usually attended to these repairs in fall, as the rains of spring and summer generally washed away the mortar, especially if hay or straw had not been mixed with it. The door was made of rough boards, hung with wooden hinges and fastened by means of a wooden latch to which a string was attached, pulling through a small hole above and out into the open air. Access to the building was obtained by pulling the string, which opened and lifted the latch and exerting a little muscular power to overcome the friction of the hinge. Tardy pupils finding the string inside knew the master was at prayer, and waited till the appearance of the string outside. Some school-houses had rough puncheon floors, and others only clay. The puncheons were thick slabs or planks split from large logs hewed on the side and three or four inches thick, and often lying on the ground instead of sleepers. Ventilation was perfect. In some cases light was obtained by cutting out some of the logs and filling the space with glazed, oiled paper, thus admitting some light and excluding some cold. Sometimes the inner walls instead of being covered with mortar were boards devoid of all ornament except rude efforts at portraiture, made by the more skilful and ambitious pupils with chalk or a piece of coal taken from the fireplace. The school furniture corresponded with the interior and exterior of the building. By splitting a log six feet in diameter and fifteen feet long in half and mounting it on legs, with flat side up, a solid if not

a comfortable seat was made. The idea that the pupil's spinal column needed rest was ignored by the constructors of the benches. The floor next to the wall was often elevated for the benches of the larger scholars. Desks were only for the pupils in the back part of the room. They were formed by placing wide boards on long pins driven into logs. The edges of these desks served as braces for the backs of older pupils. The scholars were required to face the teacher, except when writing or by special permission. In winter great logs

were burnt in the open fireplace, which occupied a great part of one end of the building. A rough stone wall formed the foundation of the chimney, which was made of sticks placed upon each end like cobs in a cob-house, chinked with mortar and covered inside with the same material, the whole being kept in place by two naturally crooked saplings shaped like the runners of a sled, one end of each resting on a log in the building and the other on a joist.

JESSIE COHEN.

A HISTORY OF THE OIL INTEREST—THE OIL COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

PERHAPS the real character of no country is so little understood, and no industry of equal proportions so lightly esteemed by the general public as the oil country, its people and its trade. It is not unusual to hear educated people talking about coal oil when they mean petroleum, and who suppose the oil they burn in their lamps is manufactured from coal, like the gas they burn from the meter.

Men of intelligence often visit the oil-country, expecting to encounter difficulties of a startling nature, in trying to make their way over and around great gaping holes in the ground, supposing that oil wells are dug or blasted through the rock, and stand as a matter of course with mouths wide open, ready to engulf unwary travelers. The disappointment expressed or implied by an inexperienced visitor to the region is quite natural.

He finds nothing just as he expected. A person preparing to visit a foreign country can imagine to a certain extent the appearance of great cities and immense cathedrals; he can picture to his imagination the grandeur and beauty of architecture and natural scenery, which are not unlike the original; but one's mental investments in the oil country are so full of fancy and fiction that he will certainly feel some sense of disappointment, although it may be a pleasing one.

Petroleum is derived from the Latin words *petro*, a rock, and *oleum*, oil—rock oil—and, as the name indicates, is the bitumen species of oil, being the natural product of the rocks, principally sandstones. It is to be understood that petroleum is a widely distributed product, and its origin and use date many centuries before the Christian

era. A mineral pitch is mentioned in ancient history as Jews' oil, which was nothing more than a species of petroleum, and was procured from great pits in Arabia, south of Palestine, in large quantities, and used for illuminating and heating purposes as far back as authentic history dates. Twenty-three hundred years ago Herodotus mentioned the flowing oil-spring of Zante, which continues to flow at the present time, and China has had her gas wells for thousands of years. These wells are from one to four thousand feet in depth, and the gas is conveyed from the wells and through the houses by means of hollow bamboo tubing, and used for lighting and heating; and the happiness of the Chinese mandarine is not complete until he possesses his private gas well. In Russia there is a region of country twenty-five miles in length and one or two in breadth, along the Caspian sea, which has been celebrated for ages on account of the gases and oily liquids which have continually risen to the surface from the bowels of the earth, and where there have been constantly burning fires. This is in the neighborhood of the present Russian oil field, which is by far the largest in the eastern hemisphere, and is being extensively developed by American capital, Pennsylvania machinery and men. Oil is found in considerable quantities in Ragoon, India. In 1875 there were three hundred wells producing about one hundred thousand barrels per annum. The oil is found at a depth of one hundred feet, in a sandy clay, which overlies sandstone. Petroleum has been found in limited quanti-

ties in the north of Italy. The cities of Genoa and Parama have been illuminated with it for thirty years or more. It has also been found in Hanover, Germany, of an inferior quality; also on the island of Trinidad, in California and Colorado, in many of the South American states, and, in fact, in almost every country on the globe. But the great bulk of petroleum which has supplied the commercial world up to the present time has been obtained from a portion of country parallel with and considerably west of the Alleghany mountains, extending from Canada on the north to Alabama on the south. Even this area has not produced enough petroleum to influence its commercial value, except in the minds of speculators, outside of a narrow strip of country drained by the Allegheny river and its tributaries.

This narrow strip of country, commencing some distance above Pittsburgh, extends in a northeasterly direction a short distance into New York, varying from a few rods to several miles in breadth. There are many breaks of long distances, with here and there scattered pools of small size on either side. This strip includes portions of Armstrong, Butler, Venango, Clarion, Forrest, Crawford, Warren and McKean counties, in Pennsylvania, and Allegany and Cattaraugus counties, New York. The entire actual producing area would probably not exceed one hundred square miles, and contains a population, directly or indirectly interested in the producing, transporting and refining of oil, estimated at two hundred thousand inhabitants. Some idea of the im-

portance of this industry can be gained from the fact that Oil creek, with an extent of twenty miles and from an actual area of less than three square miles, notwithstanding the extravagant waste which attended its early production, has produced over one hundred and ten million dollars worth of oil. It is doubtful if any portion of the earth's surface has given man an equal return for his labor.

From the general direction in which developments were made, the term "Oil belt," naturally a fascinating one, came into use early in the history of the oil region. The country was flooded with maps showing the supposed course of the subterranean rivers of oil, and, like most errors, often contained a grain of truth. The geologists soon demonstrated to the more intelligent producer that it would be unnatural for any formation which was the result of a deposit from moving water to be found in perfectly straight lines. In fact, if the centres of developments are carefully noted it will be found to assume the form of a very slight curve. Nature never works in straight lines, and beds of sand rock are deposited at intervals only, as may be seen to a greater or less extent in the bottom of any running stream. But "oil belts" figure largely in the literature of the oil region even at the present time, and to be "on the belt" is equivalent to a fortune in the minds of every land owner, who by some manner of reasoning persuades himself that he is "on the belt," even though he be surrounded by dry holes.

Petroleum was collected by the In-

dians along Oil creek by placing obstructions in the creek thus forming small eddies so that the oil floating down the creek would accumulate on the surface. It was collected by placing blankets on the surface of the water until they became saturated with the oil, which was then pressed out into suitable receptacles. It was bottled and sold as "Seneca Oil," a name borrowed from the Seneca tribe of Indians, which was supposed to be a panacea for all the ills to which mankind is heir. Along Oil creek are numerous pits about one hundred feet long by fifty in breadth and connected by a trench with a dam across the creek above. Oil must have been collected from these pits in large quantities by former inhabitants, possibly the Mound Builders of the Mississippi valley as mounds similar are found along the Allegheny river. These pits are from fifteen to twenty feet in depth and cribbed with timber, which, owing to the preservative qualities of the petroleum, is in a good state of preservation. Oak trees are found growing in the centre of these excavations several feet in diameter and indicating by their rings that they are not less than five or six hundred years of age.

Petroleum was used in large quantities by the aborigines in their religious ceremonies. A sufficient quantity having been collected, it was ignited and devotion rendered to the fire—not a bad imitation of their sun god.

The first oil obtained from the ground in any considerable quantity was in 1849, at Tarentum, above Pittsburgh, while drilling a salt well. I presume

the disgust of the salt borers, when they struck oil instead of salt water, was only equaled by that of the luckless wildcatters who struck gas instead of oil, which now promises to rival petroleum itself in importance. In 1850 petroleum was utilized in a small way as a fuel to evaporate the salt water at Tarentum. In 1858 Mr. Samuel Kier of Pittsburgh erected a small refinery, and a small quantity was used in the immediate vicinity for lighting purposes. To Professor Silliman of Boston is due the credit of calling the attention of the commercial world to the practicability of using petroleum as an illuminating material, and after carefully studying the geological formation of the country, suggested to Drake and others the possibility of obtaining petroleum in paying quantities by drilling. Professor Silliman was president and Colonel E. L. Drake superintendent of the company who drilled the first oil well, properly speaking, and known to history as the Drake well, which was located a few miles south of the then small hamlet of Titusville, on Oil creek. The history of the difficulties encountered and overcome in the drilling of this first oil well by Colonel Drake is one of the most remarkable in the annals of our country. The country was new and a hundred miles or more from railroad communication. The machinery was almost all manufactured at a blacksmith's forge, and it is somewhat remarkable that, although very crude and weighing only a few hundred pounds, the machinery and tools were much the same in principle as are used to-day in drilling oil

wells. But as an illustration of the energy with which this business has been prosecuted, it may be stated that from 1860 to 1874 there were issued over three thousand eight hundred patents bearing upon the production and manufacture of petroleum. In the early days of oildom it required months and even years to sink a well one, two or three hundred feet in depth; and now, with the improved machinery and ponderous tools weighing over a ton, it is only a question of days to drill a well one, two or three thousand feet—a half a mile in depth. Among the many inventions for which the oil country is indebted to Colonel Drake is that of the driving pipe, which alone, if patented, would have been the foundation of a handsome fortune. The grand old state of Pennsylvania never did a more generous act than, when Colonel Drake became broken in health and fortune, to liberally pension him while he lived, and erect a fitting monument to his memory when he died. The capital of the company was soon exhausted. Drake returned to Boston and raised more money, which was again soon expended, when the company would furnish no more funds. Drake used his own small fortune, consisting of a few thousand dollars saved from his earnings, mostly as a railroad conductor. He then borrowed from his friends until they would furnish no more money. He still persisted, and was considered a "petroleum crank." I was told by the groceryman at Titusville that, on the morning of the same day on which Drake "struck oil," he refused him a sack of flour, and

he went back to his well with nothing to eat, and hungry.

On the afternoon of August 28, 1869, at a depth of seventy-nine feet, the first oil well was struck and a new industry born. This well produced about twenty-five barrels daily. It is remarkable that within three months after this date petroleum was sent to Pittsburgh, refineries built, lamps and burners made essentially the same as are used to-day, and all sent back to the oil country. And in less than a year petroleum had become not only a luxury but a necessity both at home and abroad. At the present time the petroleum industry ranks third in importance in the United States, being exceeded by breadstuffs and cotton only, and ranks second only to king cotton on our list of exports.

There is no product like petroleum, a cargo of which may navigate a river, cross a lake or ocean in a vessel propelled by steam it has generated ; acting upon an engine it lubricates, and directed by an engineer who may grease his hair, anoint his body, perfume his clothing, enrich his food, rub his bruises, freshen his liver, and waterproof his boots with the same article.

During the early years of oldom theories as to its origin were not wanting. In one of the many publications of the time it was gravely stated that petroleum was the urine of whales from the North Pole conveyed in subterranean channels. Another suggests that since the earth is a huge animal, the rocks its bones, the water circulating in them its blood, the grass and trees its hair, the hills pimples on its face, and *Ætna* and

Vesuvius eruptive boils, all that is necessary to obtain oil is to bore through the skin into the blubber of the monster and oil very naturally flows from it. At a Methodist campmeeting I attended some years ago, a successful revivalist preached a powerful sermon in which he advanced the idea that since the world was to be destroyed by fire, the oil was stored away to be lighted on that dreadful day. But aside from these ludicrous attempts at explanation, men of science have rendered their verdict and have come no nearer the truth. Professor Silliman says that "petroleum is a product of vegetable decomposition." Professor Dana says "petroleum is a bituminous liquid resulting from the decomposition of marine or land plants, and *perhaps* also of some non-nitrogenous animal tissues. By many it is supposed to be a product of coal, and hence the name coal-oil so frequently applied to it. By others it is claimed to be an animal production and really a *coral*-oil, and not a *coal*-oil. The weight of authority at the present time seems to be that it is neither of animal or vegetable origin, but an inorganic compound.

In 1861 the first pipe line was laid from Titusville, four miles down Oil creek. It was a four inch line with lead joints, and leaked so badly that it proved a complete failure. In 1865 Mr. Samuel Van Syckle conceived the brilliant idea of extending the tubing of the oil well to the station, and laid the first successful pipe line from Pithole to Miller's farm, a distance of six miles. At this time thousands of teams were employed in drawing oil in barrels from

the wells to the railroads across the country, or to Oil creek, where they were loaded on barges and pond-freshed down into the Allegheny river, and thence to Pittsburgh. These pond freshets were large dams built across the headwaters of Oil creek, and at an appointed time, on certain days of the week, they were cut loose and the barges of oil floated down the creek on the resulting flood of water. The scene of activity and confusion of floating barrels and debris of collapsed and capsized barges can be imagined. The empty barges and barrels were towed back up the creek by horses, which were kept all day long up to their knees and often to their necks in the oil and water, which soon caused all the hair to come off their bodies and gave them a very peculiar appearance, and the best of them would succumb to the hardship and exposure in a few months. The teamsters usually possessed their own team of horses and rode astride the lead horse, and were saturated all day long with the water and oil. Those who were conveying the oil on land were in about the same condition with their wagons, excepting that they had mud and oil to contend with instead of oil and water. The teamsters demanded extravagant wages, and, of course, received them. They were not saints usually, and the man who could swear the longest and loudest was considered the most successful teamster. But the pipe line came, and "Othello's occupation was gone." The teamsters declared war on the pipe lines, and as fast as the line was put down during the day it was torn up during

the night. When sufficient guards were procured, so that it was impossible to tear up the line, sharp picks were used to perforate the pipes or receiving tanks, and thus permit the oil to run to waste. This condition of affairs continued for some time and resulted in open encounters, in which there was some bloodshed. But the palmy days of the teamster were at an end.

There has been an almost constant fight between the Roberts Torpedo company and the oil producers which has fortunately been terminated recently by the expiration of the patent which the Torpedo company failed to get renewed. Soon after the first oil wells were drilled it was found necessary to resort to some method to shatter or break the oil rock so as to give the oil free access to the well. Diamond drills, gunpowder and various explosives were used, but none answered the purpose so well as nitro-glycerine. It was necessary to use some kind of tamping to prevent the force of the explosion from passing up the hole. It was found by letting the well remain full of water this requirement was fully met. Dr. Roberts patented this method of "fluid tamping," and charged exorbitant rates for the privilege of using it. The oil producers have constantly fought this monopoly and given financial as well as moral support to the "moonlighters," who carried on the dangerous occupation of torpedoing wells at night, and thus infringing on the Roberts patent, dozens of whom not only suffered fines and imprisonment, but sacrificed their lives from the increased danger of man-

ufacturing, transporting and handling the explosive compound at night. Hundreds of men are employed and hundreds of thousands of dollars invested in the manufacturing, transporting and using of nitro-glycerine in the oil country. It is transported over almost impassable roads on light spring wagons and used in every oil well in the oil country. It is carried in four quart cans, and from forty to one hundred and sixty quarts are used in torpedoing a well, and is often repeated at intervals. A torpedo shell is a large tin tube five inches in diameter—the size of an oil well—and long enough to hold the required amount. The empty shell is placed in the top of the oil well and the nitro-glycerine poured from the cans into it; when full a cap is placed on the top of it and it is lowered by a small rope and reel to the oil sand rock, and exploded by dropping a weight upon it. The explosion is felt as a slight trembling of the earth, which is soon followed by a terrible rumbling, such as is felt before a volcanic eruption; soon there is seen a column of oil, the full diameter of the oil well, rising slowly at first, and then more rapidly, up through the derrick higher and higher until it reaches its top, often taking the crown pulley with it, and still goes on higher—one, two and even three hundred feet high—when it falls in every direction like an immense fountain, spraying several acres of ground with oil. The full play of color caused by the sun shining upon the flowing green oil is the most beautiful I have ever witnessed. During all this time there is a terrible

rumbling and grating and shaking kept up by the escaping gas, which causes all this commotion. I have witnessed this scene many and many a time, and would willingly start off again on a tramp of miles over a mountain, across an almost impassable swamp, as I have often done, to see it again. It is not unusual for the escaping gas and oil to take fire, either from the flow coming on unexpectedly, or from carelessness with matches, or even from a lighted cigar. Hundreds of people have lost their lives in this manner. Some years ago a number of people came together to see a flowing well at Rousville, which suddenly took fire, and not less than thirty persons were burned to death and many more disfigured for life. Anyone who has witnessed a burning well need not be told that it is one of the grandest sights in nature. A volcano belching forth its fire and smoke is no more terrible. Probably one of the widest known burning wells was that at Gas City, in Venango county. It burned for ten years or more before it was possible to extinguish it. The gas escaped with such force that it was several hundred feet before the gas became ignited, and the blaze was a hundred feet higher. Trees and grass were green upon acres of ground all winter. A dancing platform was built and sleighing parties came and danced all night, in the open air, in the middle of winter, in a tropical climate.

Of all the articles I have read on the oil country, none have done justice to the oil country people, their characteristics and peculiarities. It is an im-

pression widely entertained that the oil country is inhabited by a transient population. This is a mistake, as the same people who came to the oil country from 1860 to 1865 make up the bone and sinew of the oil country to-day, very largely composed of ex-soldiers, who returning from service in the army found themselves with no occupation or business and came to the oil country expecting to make a fortune in a year or two and then return to their homes. A very large percentage came from the eastern cities, while Canada and every northern state are represented, with a liberal sprinkling of southern gentlemen who carry their major or general with a soldier's dignity. The foreign element is comparatively small, with the exception of the indomitable pack-peddler, who made his appearance early with his entire stock in trade on his back and to-day makes up a large percentage of the solid business men of the oil towns. We must also mention the original land owners, mostly Pennsylvania German farmers, many of them unable to speak English and the only language known to them is that mixture "Pennsylvania Dutch." Of this class the many stories are current about when "dad struck oil," of which the following is a fair sample :

Old Mr. Tar, of Tar farm fame, had an only daughter, to whom the old gentleman was very indulgent and spent his money upon her lavishly, and considering it the proper thing to do, sent her away to boarding school. In due course of time he called around to see how his daughter was progressing in her studies, and when the principal informed him that she was doing very well considering her capacity, the old man said his daughter should suffer for

nothing, and that if she was in need of a capacity he would buy it for her.

The first settlers on Oil Creek, in 1809, took their bags of grain on their backs, walked to Erie, fifty-three miles, to mill, and brought home their flour in the same way. The lumbermen at Warren rafted their lumber to New Orleans and walked home.

Many of the first arrivals to the oil country remained a year or two. Dame fortune had not smiled on them yet, but they expected her to do so soon. If they returned to their homes it was only for a flying visit to their families or else to interest their friends in their mad schemes for making money. Often the wives had been separated from their husbands for years during the war and were now separated again. They frequently refused to be parted longer and followed their husbands without his consent to the oil country. Many a wife and mother has told me how they left homes of luxury and affluence in the cities to live with their husbands, perhaps in an engine house fifteen by twenty, with the wind whistling between every board, and with no furniture excepting that of their own manufacturing. It is somewhat amusing to have them tell you confidentially that this is their last year in the oil country, and next year they are going back to the city to live. They forget that they have said the same thing every year for the past fifteen or twenty years, and do not know that they would be like thousands of their friends who have gone back to the city to live, only to return to the oil country at the earliest opportunity.

The architecture of the oil town is somewhat peculiar. Oil is struck possibly five, ten, fifty miles from previous developments. Within twenty-four hours a town is laid out on a magnificent scale; before a week business houses, machine shops, hotels, opera houses, churches are building—this is the period when oil towns are said to exist upon greenbacks and tenpenny nails—a postmaster appointed, a borough government established, with a burgess, town council, policemen, "cooler" and all the necessary adjuncts, making property as safe as in older communities. The state of Pennsylvania has enacted special laws applicable to the government of these new towns. Men move out, taking their families and household goods with them, place them on the ground, commence building around them in the morning, and have them under roof before night. The houses are built of rough boards set on end—dwelling houses one story high, business houses two or three. The dwelling houses have from three to ten small rooms, according to the size of family, and are supplied with numerous folding doors, so as to utilize all as one room when necessary. The walls are first covered with cheese cloth—a cheap unbleached muslin—and then covered with paper often costing several dollars per bolt. The floors are covered with carpets, and frequently the most expensive Brussels. Almost every house has a piano, or at least an organ. The furniture is worth many times the value of the house and is often of the latest patterns. The libraries are often large and well selected. As cold weather comes

on the outside of the houses are covered with a heavy paper, and this with another thickness of boards, making the houses quite warm and comfortable in the coldest weather. Gas is used almost exclusively, both for fuel and light, and when burned in an open stove or grate on asbestos is unsurpassed for comfort or beauty as well as convenience. If the town offers some prospect of becoming permanent, the dwelling houses are covered with clapboarding and painted, and the business houses with brick, giving the town something of a permanent character.

As an illustration of the rapid growth of these towns, oil was struck at Pithole in March, 1865. In June of the same year there was a population estimated at twenty thousand, and before snowfall forty-thousand inhabitants. A full grown city, with all the churches, schools, opera houses, theatres, banks, hotels and everything found in cities of that size anywhere—undoubtedly the most remarkable growth of any city in the world, and its decline was as remarkable. Much of it was removed to other oil towns, more of it burned, and in one year scarcely any of it left. At one time it was the third postoffice in importance in the state. In a few months there were still three daily mails and only seven voters left in the city. At present the site of Pithole is occupied by one or two farm houses, but most of it is overgrown with small trees and underbrush in which there is good rabbit shooting. The history of Pithole is but a repetition of the history of scores of oil towns. A few like Titusville, Oil

City and Bradford are permanent, but the life of a typical oil town is about three years, many less, some longer. Many houses are built in sections so they can be readily removed from one town to another. The Episcopal church in Bradford was built in Rousville, did good service in Oil City, and is now used in Bradford. Usually the doors, windows and such parts as can be readily removed are taken away and the rest left to burn, which is the fate of most oil towns. It is a common saying in the oil country that it is not much of an oil town which has not been burned at least three times. Fires are much less frequent than formerly, due to the protection of the excellent volunteer fire companies which are now thoroughly organized in every town, and are supplied with the best apparatus.

Probably the most remarkable fire which has occurred in the oil country was that of Tram Hollow, on May 12, 1880. Tram Hollow is one of four or five valleys, each about six miles in length, which, uniting, form a small basin in which the oil town of Duke Centre is located. The hills separating these valleys are from six to eight hundred feet high, and from the top of one hill across the valley to the top of the one opposite is from one to three miles. Tram Hollow was very heavily wooded when oil developments commenced the previous summer, there being but one small farm the entire length of the valley. During the summer and winter the timber was cut down and used in building, the rigs and the tops and debris left covering the ground. Oil wells were

drilled—probably an average of two or three to the acre—throughout the entire valley. The pipe lines were unable to take care of the production, which was very large, and most wells had several tanks full of oil, and many of the wells had been flowing on the ground several weeks, so that the soil was saturated with petroleum. Constant fires were kept burning on Knapp's creek, above Duke Centre, to prevent the oil flowing down through the town. There were three small oil towns located in Tram Hollow, viz.: Otto City, Oil Centre and Middaughville, and the houses were built so closely throughout the valley that a sidewalk had been built its entire length. There is probably no means of knowing how many people lived in the valley at this time. About two o'clock in the afternoon an immense fire was seen raging at the upper end of Tram Hollow, and the wind blowing a perfect gale down the valley. I rode up the valley and met people fleeing down for their lives by hundreds. I rode as far as I considered it safe to go. There was a solid wall of fire extending across the entire breadth of the valley. The sky was as black as the darkest night, as the smoke from the burning oil was carried far above my head, and everything stood out in an unearthly prominence in the bright blaze of burning oil wells, trees and houses. The fire advanced rapidly, jumping from one oil well to another like flashes of lightning, and almost every moment there were explosions of abandoned nitro-glycerine cans, which resembled heavy cannonading. When I started down the valley I found

the fire had preceded me in places, and but for the speed of my horse would have been surrounded. On my way down I caught a child under each arm, which I deposited in a place of safety. Just before reaching Duke Centre, a nitro-glycerine magazine, containing some hundreds of pounds, exploded, and although distant a mile or more, came near unhorsing me. As I entered Bradford street, which continues some distance up Tram Hollow, I found one of the hose companies drawn up, with nozzle attached, pointing up the valley. Some one called to me, as I emerged from the blackness and smoke, if the fire was coming. I said, "Yes, as fast as it can." Although the fire must have been a mile distant, every man dropped the hose and ran for his life. When I reached Duke Centre, which must have had a population of between four and five thousand at this time, I found every person moving out of town to a place of safety. The smoke from the burning valley made it so dark it was impossible to distinguish anything. The streets were full of clothing, bedding, household utensils, everything; men, women and children shouting, screaming and crying like mad, all making an effort to save something. I soon took my surgical instruments and dressings into the open field on the hillside, and was busy there all day and all night dressing burns and injuries of almost every character. Fortunately the wind blowing down Oil Valley at right angles with the fire coming down Tram Hollow, blew it over the hill towards Rixford, which was all burned a few days previous, and the fire

went out because there was nothing more to burn. Duke Centre was saved. Only about a dozen houses were burned at the upper end of Bradford street. Every person remained on the hillside in the open field all night. Although there were millions of dollars worth of property burned, it is remarkable that, so far as known, no one was burned to death, many were burned seriously. One lady died during the night from fright. The oil country people, with their accustomed generosity, subscribed liberally to the sufferers from the fire, and literally built scores of houses and furnished them with all necessary furniture, as well as clothing and groceries.

The natural scenery of the oil country has received considerable attention from artists and writers, but any article on the oil country would be incomplete without at least a mention of Rock City, which is visited by thousands of tourists every year, and the great Kinzua bridge, three hundred and one feet high, the highest in the world, both near Bradford. The scenery along the Allegheny river is unsurpassed in variety and beauty this side of the Rocky mountains. Alum Rock, in Clarion county, is quite celebrated as a local picnic ground, and deserves a wider reputation. The entire oil country is a network of narrow gauge railroads, climbing mountains, crossing trestles on curves at a dizzy height, on grades on which an ordinary locomotive could not move its own weight, with every hillside covered with derricks, often almost as numerous as the trees of the original forest, interspersed with numer-

ous receiving tanks, which certainly give the landscape a peculiar appearance. At night, when thousands of gas jets are seen burning over hillside and valley, it is said to resemble an immense army in camp.

But the great attraction of the oil country is its people. Those peculiarities both of features and of dress which are supposed to be the characteristics of miners are notably absent in the oil towns. It is true the men are larger than the average, and the heavy roll of the shoulders which indicate muscular development is noticeable. In the early days on Oil Creek men high up in the thousands wore the broad-collared flannel shirts and the high-top boots, and considered the spatterings of the sand-pump and the smell of oil a mark of distinction. But times are changed, all dress like gentlemen, the ladies possibly a little loud. There are probably more gold watches, diamond rings and seal-skin sacques worn than can be found among an equal number of people anywhere. The atmosphere is that of a mining country. Stories of wealth rapidly acquired are heard on every hand. Money, oil statistics—endless statistics is a never failing subject for discussion. The typical oil man does not expect to make his fortune in the slow, tedious ordinary way of trade. He is industrious and works hard and makes money. An ordinary business man would save a competency, and even die rich. The oil man saves nothing. He works only for the present, as he expects to make his fortune at one grand stroke in the near future. He is an inveterate specu-

lator; if he does not put his hard earnings in a wild-cat well he buys oil on margins. An exaggerated development of hope, together with an active imagination, is one of the characteristics of the oil country people. The producer without a well in the world, but hoping to have one, sells the oil which has not yet been brought to light. The speculator, not to be outdone, mounts to even sublime heights of imagination. He assumes to possess millions of oil always ready for future delivery. As this oil has advantages over the real in being in no danger of lightning, and out of the reach of the sheriff and tax collector, it has become very popular. Some make money, more lose. Those who make are always willing to share with their less fortunate neighbors. Many who were the richest a few years ago are the poorest to-day, but seem as happy in their struggle to regain their lost fortunes as when in its possession.

With all their faults the oil country people are social, kind-hearted and liberal. They support good schools, build good churches and fill the pulpits with the best talent money will procure. They have free reading rooms and libraries. The best literary, scientific and mechanical journals have a large circulation. The oil country is one of the best fields for the public lecturers, as I have been told repeatedly by our best platform speakers. Every winter all the principal oil towns are visited by the best operatic and theatrical companies. Appeals for charity never go unheeded. A church is in debt, they come to the oil country. A college wants endow-

ment, they come to the oil country. If an asylum, orphans' home, or anything to relieve suffering humanity, is wanted,

a representative is sent to the oil country who never returns empty-handed.

A. R. BAKER.

B. F. WADE, THE JUDGE.

IV.

FRANK WADE became a very busy, hard-working man before 1835. In the latter part of 1834 a young man became a student of Giddings & Wade, attracted by the fame of the senior of the firm, from whom I learned more of Mr. Wade personally at that interesting time of his life than from all others. During his novitiate a great change appeared in the dress and something in the manner of the lawyer. From one of the most careless and indifferent in the matter of attire, he became one of the most careful and fastidious. The gentleman referred to had rare taste in matters of dress, and was much in Mr. Wade's confidence in the things of coats, cravats and shirt frills, then much worn, and to whom the lawyer presented a complete outfit, the work of a New York tailor, before he left the office. Various were the speculations as to the cause of this change in the tastes and dress of the advocate. If there was anything special it never transpired. It was the impression of my informant, that some to him unknown maiden was the inspiration of it. So far as known he distinguished no lady by approaching her, nor did he seek the society of women. He passed his thirty-seventh birthday, if not un-

touched at least in safety. Thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, and yet unmarried. Not thus solitary was his life to remain.

There is a universal delusion that love romances are the special events attendant on youthfulness of actual years. Youthfulness may be necessary to their beautiful existence. It is the youthfulness of heart and spirit often perennial. Old poets have sung sweetest of love—old men have written some of the most charming of romances. There is in most normally structured and grown men and women the elements and tendencies which lead to their most intimate association. Nature knows what she is about, and secures her own purpose. Until that is accomplished in the individual, and usually till the birth of children, the spirit and flavor of poetry and romance linger in the heart and atmosphere of most men and women. Whoever doubts this, let him seek the confidence of some middle-aged bachelor or spinster. Even in the oldest of these unmated he will find low down in the heart a little drop of condensed sweet—a preserved nectary, though the flower perished, its petals withered in the long, unblessed past. "All the world loves a lover." The proverb had

its life in this law of the human race. Art compels his appearance in song and story, epic and novel. The elements of romance and tenderness were as strong and as yet unsunned in the deep nature of the lawyer at forty as of the young man of twenty-five.

Caroline M. Rosekrans was born at Lansingburg, New York, July 30, 1805. Her father, Depin Rosekrans, was a merchant of that place, where he died while she was in her second year. Her mother, a daughter of Nehemiah Hubbard, then a retired merchant and banker of Middletown, Connecticut, her native place, returned to that city, where later she contracted a second marriage with Enoch Parsons, esq., a son of revolutionary General Parsons, also one of the first territorial judges of Ohio. Of this marriage a son, Henry E. Parsons, esq., was the issue. The new family continued to live in Middletown until the younger Parsons removed to Ashtabula, Ohio, in 1832, where he still resides. His mother and Caroline became residents there in 1837.

A child of affluence and of cultured parents, Caroline was educated with as much care and attention as were at the beginning of the century bestowed upon the minds of the fortunately surrounded young American woman. Nature was kind to the young girl in the bestowal of a well-formed, pleasing person, a blonde, attractive face, vigorous constitution, and a mind of unusual strength and capacity. The education she received was one to leave the person to develop and mature much as nature intended, healthfully and in just

proportions—a fit residence for a mind which for its grasp and intelligence was more like the vigorous reach and play of an educated, well-read young man than of the thinsoled shoe, wasp-waisted, pale, simpering girl of that day. Sex is not a garment that a woman can throw off at will—that she can lose or be parted from. She may say and do the things that a man does and says. In her hands and mouth they are womanly. Sex is the inseparable character and quality of her heart, soul, intellect, of her acts and speech, as of her physical form, and cannot be separated from either. Caroline Rosekrans grew to be one of the most womanly of women, as at her maturity one of the very attractive. She doubtless had her fancies, her preferences and repugnances, as all healthful girls do. Not a prude, not affecting to dislike or avoid men. Doubtless she sympathized with their intellectual labors, their free, robust life. She early became a great reader, and such she always continued to be. Not a reader of novels—of them but sparingly. A reader of histories, of biographies, of politics, newspapers—well informed. So she reached her full womanhood, and lived on growing, developing mentally, morally, ripening in person, extending her acquaintances, living cheerfully an active, vigorous, womanly life, neither pining or sighing for any possible future, cheerfully awaiting it, whatever it might be.

Ashtabula, at the time of the arrival of Mrs. Parsons and Miss Rosekrans, was one of the most active and important places on the lake. Nearly every

one of the great lake-going steamers called at its wharf—sometimes half a dozen in a day. The lake at that time for five or six months of the year was the sole highway for the immense transit of passengers and property. Ashtabula had much of wealth, and there were the marked beginnings of class distinction which have not yet been evolved out of the race of men.

The newly arrived were a real accession to the place. Mr. Parsons had capital, character and business capacity. The young lady had marked character, womanly accomplishments, and a rarely cultivated mind. She had no position to attain. She quietly took what was hers of right and by use.

In the absence of certain information it is easy to fancy how the first meeting of Miss Rosekrans and Frank Wade came about. It was in the kindling of the fires of the never to be forgotten though now grossly misrepresented campaign of 1840, which was in the first months of that memorable year. Wade was quite the first to sound the trumpet call to arms in his region, and was one of the most effective and popular speakers of the state, already widely known. There was to be a meeting at Ashtabula, at which he was to speak upon the new and old issues of the shaping campaign, hereafter to be dealt with. Caroline had heard of him. The Ashtabula ladies spoke of him—an interesting puzzle to them. No one was much acquainted with him, they said. He was very popular with men, but seemed to care nothing for ladies' society. Never did. Not only a bache-

lor, he was "an old bachelor." Had he never courted a girl—had any heart history? No one had ever heard of such a thing. No, he did not like women, though there was much in him to interest them. It is not at all likely the healthful fancy of Caroline Rosekrans was in the least attracted by what she heard of him. She had doubtless wondered what such a man could see in the average pink-faced girl to attract him. By intelligence, temperament and association she was a Whig. She was much interested in the popular rising against the party in power. She went with her brother to the meeting to hear Mr. Wade's speech. She never had heard a political speech. As usual in that region, at that day, it was presided over by a New England "moderator," who called on a clergyman to open it with prayer. Caroline had no trouble in distinguishing Mr. Wade, and while this was going on she noticed his face, and at the first did not very well like it. Though well-featured, it was a little pinched at the temple, but the head was good, the figure as he arose manly, the attitude striking. He at once launched himself on his theme, the arraignment of Mr. Van Buren's administration and the Democratic party. Strong, bold, sustained, manly. After he closed, Mr. Parsons, who had met him, lingered with his sister at the exit for a word of congratulation. He presented the successful orator, still aglow, to his sister. Mr. Wade had several times caught her handsome, intelligent interested face during his hour and a half of a speech—a stranger he noted, as also that it

pleased him. For once he was glad to be presented to a lady. They had a few pleasant words, and he carried off, for him, an unusual impression of the personal charm of a woman's presence. Something infinitely sweet, attractive, delicious in this fully matured, virginal, womanly woman. They were near each other long enough for Mr. Parsons to ask him to call. He remained in town over night, as much of the ensuing day, and did call ere he returned to Jefferson.

Something of this we know to be true. The acquaintance begun, ran on during the summer, autumn and winter. Wade was frank, direct and manly in his wooing. The lady was greatly pleased with his attentions and let him see she was, as a woman might. "During the courtship he came often to see her. They were congenial spirits," is the statement of one who knew all about it.* That was an important, an interesting, a memorable year to Mr. Wade. What with his prosecution of Mr. Van Buren and the Democracy, his attention to the courts of law, his suit to Miss Rosekrans, in which he was no laggard as we have seen, it was a busy year as well. They were married, May 19, 1841, and took up their residence in Jefferson, where the bride of that far-off day still resides.

All marriages worthy the name, though possibly less to a man than to a woman, are of the gravest moment to him. No man can open his heart, his life, and admit another life into it, become a part of it, become in turn a part of another life, without great and important conse-

quences to himself and others. This marriage was exceptionally fortunate, happy—a love marriage, not so rare as is supposed. We hear mostly of the unfortunate ones. By this marriage were born two sons—Lieutenant-Colonel James F. Wade, in 1843, and Captain Henry P. Wade, in 1845.†

A financial disaster—a panic widespread and general—always precipitates a vast volume of credits to the bottom as dead debt, to be got rid of, cancelled or buried ere business can revive, or any degree of prosperity restored. Generally the revival brings forward new names, a new, younger set of men, new commercial houses. The disasters of 1837 were not repaired save by a lapse of many years, involving the overthrow of the Jackson *Locofoco*—or as it came to call itself the Democratic party, in 1840.‡ The Whig tariff and other measures of the successful party had much to do with the restoration of confidence, the creation and employment of new capital.

Lawyers and courts were busy for years with the fossil remains of the former world. Judgments innumerable,

*Both were appointed to the regular service, as soon as of military age. The elder is with his regiment. The youngest resigned at the end of the war and is now a farmer in Jefferson.

†At a famous meeting in Tammany hall to determine a grave and bitter local quarrel, it came to be known that upon a given contingency the lights would be turned off, and each man of the other side carried with him a box of *locofoco* matches. The lights were turned off, and thereupon were lit a thousand or two of the sulphurous pine sticks. Hence the name *Locofoco* applied to the prevailing faction speedily transferred to the party at large by its opponents.

*Letter of Henry E. Parsons, esq.

followed by creditors' bills, to uncover properties and reach equities. There was a large crop of cases. Contrary to popular impression, the legal harvest in money was small. The profession fares best when business is healthy. The new firm had its full share of this unsatisfactory business, procured its full share of never to be satisfied judgments. Clerks and sheriffs are paid before lawyers. They, too, performed immense labors never to be compensated.

With the new men, the new era, came new methods of business—the old commercial rules of the older communities not created, but recognized by statutes and enforced by courts. "Truck and dicker" made way for cash. Later the Whig legislature enacted Alfred Kelley's bank bill; this and later a new tax law, and Ohio, her canals completed, took her place henceforth with the states whose industries and trade were organized in accord with the established usages of the modern world, to remain until reorganized without revolution under the quiet revolution, to be wrought in the near future by railroads and the telegraph. New cases, new questions arose for the bar and courts. They are the last to be reached in changes by new processes. Questions and controversies arise, pass the process of discussion by the parties, their correspondents and brokers, then the lawyers are called in and they take them to the courts. During nearly the whole of the late war, the supreme court of the United States sat serenely adjudging the old cases involving old well established rules, in contemplation of law, oblivious

of the new and awful issues discussed and decided in the red forum of battle. They were there settled ere the momentous constitutional and legal issues springing from war reached it, for which there were no rules, no precedents.

With the revival of business in Ohio, the profession and practice of law passed a new phase. The firm of Wade & Ranney had quite the lead in Ashtabula. The rapid rise of Mr. Ranney at the bar and their constant calls to Trumbull, were such as to warrant, require, the opening of an office at its shiretown—Warren—now a flourishing city, and there Mr. Ranney took up his residence, which soon brought the partners to the lead in that wealthy and important county also. From this time forward there were few important cases in the two counties that one or the other or both were not engaged in. Mr. Wade had occasional calls to Geauga, Ravenna and Cleveland. It is not to be supposed that Wade & Ranney had things their own way, even in their own counties. Horace Wilder, Ned Wade and Sherman were in Ashtabula; Tod Hoffman & Hutchins, the Sutliffs, John Crowell at Warren; Van R. Humphrey, Otis & Tilden at Ravenna; R. P. Spalding and L. V. Bierce at Akron; Reuben Hitchcock, E. T. Wilder, Perkins & Osborn, and Benjamin Bissell at Painesville, quite their equals, with a host of younger men coming on at the bar, without mentioning Cleveland. It has always seemed to me that the period between the formation of the firm of Wade & Ranney and the election of Wade to the bench, was one of a very

high degree of excellence, of strength and learning of the bar of these Reserve counties. Cleveland then had H. B. Payne, Andrews before named, Bolton & Kelley, Backus and others, and certainly the north was in this respect the equal of any part of Ohio. The practice of law under the guidance of the bar, with occasional judicious legislation, also at their hands, so far as procedure was concerned, was very well perfected, was really a useful, expeditious method of adjusting the differences of men. The courts were able and industrious, and nowhere was there the great drift of dead wood damming up the administration of the law, and damning the courts and bar for inequality to their duties. A class of men who have the entire control of the third department of the government, national and state, are certainly responsible for its working power and efficiency. That it is now absurdly behind the other two is mainly their fault. Let them be held to account.

It must have been at about the commencement of this period that the encounter between Frank Wade and Millard Fillmore occurred. A steamer owned at Buffalo was libelled—we should call it now—under the Ohio statute, in Ashtabula county, for running down a sailing vessel. Fillmore was then at his best, learned, able, handsome, elegant, eloquent. He came to Jefferson with the owners and witnesses to find out the reason of the detention. There he met the younger, full-grown, alert, strong, comparatively rough Frank Wade, to whom he was no more than any other man. Frank had never been heard of

at Buffalo, then the largest city of the lakes. He had the advantage of the home forum. The case must have been tried before Humphrey, an able judge of much presence and dignity. The case was important, was closely contested, and conducted with great and probably fairly matched ability. The Buffalonians began by underrating the leading counsel for the plaintiff. The trial attracted much attention, and the Ohioans felt a special pride in the splendid manner in which their champion met, and, as they claimed, overthrew the eastern knight supposed to be peerless. Victory declared in his favor, and it was claimed the strangers retired to their city much discomfited.†

It is the habit of the multitude to lose sight of the real issue on trial, and fix their gaze on the leading counsel and regard it as a contest between them personally, in which the best man wins. There is less difference between fairly good lawyers than laymen generally suppose. Something there certainly is in temperament and aptitude, dependent upon endowment. One man, strong and able, a master of his case, arises seeming at a distance from the jury; he never overcomes it. He is strong, logical, convincing. They may be constrained to find for him, but he aroused their combativeness, arrayed them against him. Another gets up within the charmed circle of their sympathies, addresses them as one of themselves. They go willingly with him. They may be compelled to return an adverse verdict.

†The late Hon. O. P. Brown, a student in Wade's office, was my informant.

They will do it reluctantly. One man cannot examine a witness so as to get from him all he knows, even when he is anxious to tell it. Another gets it all, and more too, even when the witness wishes to conceal it. Still one lawyer can do about as much as another, and one good lawyer is better than five equally good. There is seldom room for more than two. It is a mistake to increase the number. In the courts safety does not dwell in a multitude of counsel.

And so the years ran on. The state grew in population and wealth, the two lawyers in business, fame and influence, the younger going on to his proper place at the head of the bar in his section, giving their time, talents and best labor to advise and advance the material interests of men greatly their inferiors. This was their business, their profession, having few or no material interests of their own. Wise, sagacious to counsel others, negligent and inefficient in the management of their own property affairs. So the years bore them on, until the change came which necessarily severed their association and the senior from the bar. As said, the state of Ohio was niggardly in the matter of compensation in its public service. The salary of the president judges of the common pleas courts reached a minimum of seven hundred and fifty dollars in the early years of the reign of Wade & Ranney, the time of an anti-lawyer spasm. Here and there a fairly good lawyer, who wished to retire and was ambitious to sit on a bench, accepted office under it. There are

always a set of legal deadbeats, who hang about the courts talking of other men's cases, and trying the triers allowable of neither men or the gods, who eagerly sought places on the bench. The act reducing salaries brought it within their hungry reach. The experiment was bad every way, and the good sense, or the better sense of the legislature removed the poor demagogical law, and placed the judiciary on a better footing.

In February, 1847, the legislature of Ohio elected Mr. Wade president judge of the third judicial circuit, then composed of the five important counties of Ashtabula, Trumbull, Mahoning, Portage and Summit. That was the second year of the fateful war with the unfortunate Mexicans, and the battle of Buena Vista was fought during the same February. The seed once sown was quickening in the greater field of his final labors. He was still unconsciously preparing, maturing for the work. Patience for a little space. The time will be short. Four years will he judge his people in righteousness, and when summoned will then be surprised as now by this call to the judgment seat.

The counties of his circuit were among the most populous, wealthy and prosperous of the state. Though still largely agricultural, they were traversed by canals, infant cities were springing up, mines were opened, and various extensive manufactories were coming to importance. The new justice at once entered upon his new duties. He was greatly needed. There was a large arrear of business on the calendars. In

the five counties collectively, there would be fifteen terms of his court during each year. The initial days of the terms were fixed by statute. Under his administration, the last day in a given county was the first of the succeeding in the next shire.

No man ever reached the bench better equipped for its best and highest duties than did Mr. Wade. He was of good age, young enough to adapt himself readily to the place, a mind thoroughly trained—had acquired the *legal instinct*—great capacity for work, an even, healthy, good temper, a man of secure popularity with the people, admired, loved, profoundly respected by the bar, he took his place not only by right of unsought election, but the divine right of fitness. Imbued with the robust spirit of the common law, his native love of right and justice still prevailed, and his knowledge of the law enabled him generally to secure that, so strongly entrenched that his judgments were rarely disturbed.

I was never in his court. I was for the four years of his presiding in the adjoining circuit. Heard of him constantly. There now lie before me two well-written accounts of his career on the bench by lawyers who practiced before him, both of whom since sat on the bench;* and I am surrounded by ample information from various sources. If it is all friendly, and from appreciative admirers, it is to be said that, robust, virile as his nature was, trenchant as were the blows he dealt, caustic as was his wit, he never made enemies, was

never the object of detraction. The real man stood so palpably before all men's eyes that whoever spoke of him praised him, and often in terms that seemed laudatory to strangers.

I once heard an educated man—a lawyer and a judge—a man of fine ability, while occupying the place of presiding judge on the bench in Cleveland, and who since sat on the bench of the highest court of another state, say: "I never sat in the trial of a case in which I cared two cents which side gained it." This was a mode of showing his utter indifference. I heard it with amazement. He fortified himself by quoting a similar declaration of a really much admired judge, well-known to us both.

Mr. Wade, as I think, was not that sort of a judge. He saw at once the right of a case. No man saw the moral right, when involved, quicker. He was, of all things, loyal to the law, and this, in the absence of a controlling moral question, was to prevail. It is generally found, when a case is cleared of foreign matter, that the rule of common right, when involved, and the rule of the common law coincide. With his mastery of the law, mastery of men, he usually so shaped a trial that ultimately the right prevailed. The American judge declines to deal with the case itself, in his instructions to the jury. Wade's ingenuity enabled him, by the aid of a supposed case, to bring the real issue broadly within their apprehension, in the clear light of its right and wrong.

It was useless to attempt to bind him with mere technicalities. He usually

*Hon. Darius Cadwell and Hon. R. F. Paine.

found a recognized legal way to the right. Securely independent, no considerations of party or favor to persons influenced him; nor was he ever suspected of being so influenced. We have heard of doctors who never lost a patient, lawyers who never lost a case, and of judges never reversed. To say that a judge of a *nisi prius* court, in the multitude of cases, the hurry and pressure of business, never committed an error, would be a preposterous statement. Of Judge Wade this is quite true. He generally gave reasons so satisfactory for his conclusions that, as a rule, his decisions were acquiesced in. No judge ever put himself more unreservedly on the record than did he. Of the few cases taken to the supreme court from him, very few were reversed. As a rule, he was there held to be right. A notable exception may be mentioned. A case arose before him of considerable difficulty. He gave it full consideration and decided it. It was taken to the supreme court and there reversed. On mandate it came up before him. He disregarded the mandate and followed his own first decision, and such was his judgment. "But, your honor, the supreme court reversed your former judgment!" exclaimed the now re-beaten counsel. "Yes, so I have heard. I will give them a chance to get right," was the quiet reply. It was again taken to the supreme court and re-presented there, and this time with Judge Wade's reported opinion. On reconsideration this was found to be the better rule. The court, instead of attaching him for contempt, reversed itself and affirmed

his last judgment. This must be the one unique instance of adherence to first impressions by a subordinate court in the judicial history of an English speaking people, and honorable to both courts.*

There used to be much "retaxing of cost bills" by the court, bills of the cost in cases as made up by the clerk, under the sometimes obscure statutes, often of no little difficulty. Such a case before him may be mentioned, as more illustrative of his character as a man than of his learning, perhaps, as a judge. The case was quite fully presented and taken under consideration. On his return at the ensuing term it was called up, talked over, and with a promise to "dispose of it" at the next, the third term, he took refuge in the causes awaiting him in the next county. That the third term lapsed, he was closing up the final session, settling exceptions and journal entries (the Yankee lawyers of the Reserve of that day were very particular about these), was about to order adjournment *sine die*, when the nervous counsel ventured to remind him of the mooted matter of costs. "Mr. clerk, what is the amount in dispute?" he asked. "Nine dollars and — cents," was the reply. "I'll pay the——thing,"† he observed as to himself, throwing a ten-dollar bill down to the clerk with "Enter the costs satisfied. Mr. sheriff, adjourn the court without day." It was disposed of.

* Judge Cadwill.

† If the curious reader should fill the above blank with an English *damned*, he might do the otherwise model judge and history no injustice.

Judge Wade's industry was great; his faculty for the dispatch of business remarkable. The bar was worked to its fullest capacity by him; the over-heavy calendars were brought within working compass, and the shortening years ran on.

On the fifteenth of March, 1857, while presiding on the bench at Akron (county of Summit), a telegram was handed him, announcing his election to the senate of the United States for a full constitutional term. He read it, handed it down to a gentleman of the bar near him, and went on with the pending trial, as if no unusual thing had occurred. In one way it was the usual. The position, in many respects the most honorable and desirable in the Republic, came unsought, unexpected. The unexpected ruled his life in the matter of the public service. He was aware that his name had been mentioned at the state capital during the winter in connection with the pending senatorial election. The selection of himself, finally, to fill the august place, was a complete surprise.

His all too short service on the bench was now concluded. Had he not been called to a higher field, we should greatly regret it; had he in any way failed in this new field, we should deeply deplore it. He had the making of a great judge. In his obedience to this last call, the administration of domestic justice suffered a loss never fully repaired. While the state lost it, the Republic, the cause of broad national justice, the large cause of freedom and the rights of men, were large gainers. On the twenty-seventh of March following his election, a bar

meeting was called at Akron to take leave of Mr. Wade as judge. Many able men of the three political parties were present, and several from points remote. The attendance was large, and with entire unanimity adopted the following as their sentiments on the occasion:

Resolved, That, as members of the bar, we cannot but regret the departure of the Hon. B. F. Wade from his position as president judge of the Third judicial circuit, a position he has maintained with dignity, courtesy, impartiality and ability in the highest degree creditable to himself and the common public suitors, and improvement of the bar.

Resolved, That we congratulate him upon his election to the highest legislative council of the nation, and take pleasure in expressing our confidence that he will discharge the functions of his new office with the same extended intelligence, high integrity and sound judgment that distinguished him upon the bench.

From the *Mahoning Index* of February 22, 1850, a Democratic organ, edited by a prominent Democratic leader, I quote the opinion of a hostile political partisan contained in a single paragraph. Speaking of Wade while presiding in the Mahoning county court of common pleas, he said:

Our court of common pleas has been in session since the twelfth, Hon. B. F. Wade, one of the best, if not the best, judge for the people and justice in the state, presiding; a man of superior legal attainment, and one that the bar and the community may well be proud of.

These papers are but preliminary to the large work before us. It will now be necessary to turn back to Mr. Wade's election to the state senate, make brief mention of service there and before the people as a popular political teacher and speaker, and also make a rapid survey of the rise and status of the slave

power at the time of his first assault upon it to his election to the national senate, from which time his personal history will be drawn against its gigantic struggle as a shifting background, nec-

essary to be studied with some care to an accurate apprehension of his services and character as a senator and a patriot.

A. G. RIDDLE.

EARLY LIBRARIES OF CINCINNATI.

INTRODUCTORY.

A special report on the "Public Libraries of the United States of America, their History, Condition and Management," was issued by Hon. John Eaton, commissioner of education in 1876. To that report the writer of this article contributed a sketch of the "Public Libraries of Cincinnati," in which it is asserted that "to the founders of Cincinnati belongs the credit of having instituted the first public library within the Northwestern Territory." The accuracy of this statement was called in question by Mr. A. B. Walker of Athens, Ohio, who, in a letter to Mr. Eaton, dated November 8, 1877, claimed priority of establishment for the noted "Coon Skin Library," or Western Library Association, of which an excellent account is given by A. G. Brown* of Athens, Ohio, in the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* for March, 1885.

Mr. Eaton sent a copy of Mr. Walker's communication to Robert Clarke, the well known publisher of the 'Ohio Valley Historical Series,' and also wrote as follows:

*The author of the sketch here referred to is wrongly given in the March number (1885) of this Magazine. It was written by Hon. John Welch of Athens, O.

Mr. Venable of your city contributed to the report the paper on Libraries in Cincinnati, beginning on page 898, in which mention is made of the Cincinnati Library and the Coon Skin Library. If convenient, you would oblige me by bringing Mr. Waker's communication to the attention of that gentleman, who doubtless familiarized himself with the history of these libraries in the preparation of his paper.

Mr. Clarke not only called my attention to the communication, but most generously and graciously undertook to prove, and did prove, in a letter to Mr. Eaton and also in a carefully prepared paper read before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, that the Cincinnati library was established in 1802, about two years previous to the actual beginning of the Coon Skin library.

The discussions just mentioned occurred in 1877. But in June, 1879, an article appeared from the pen of President I. W. Andrews, D. D., of Marietta, which proves conclusively that neither the Coon Skin library nor the Cincinnati library was the first public library in the Northwestern Territory.

Doctor Andrews shows, by most conclusive evidence, that a public library, fully organized, with stockholders, officers and *books*, existed at Belpre in 1796.

It was first known as the Putnam Family library, and afterwards as the Belpre library, and still later, the Belpre Farmer's library.

Dr. Andrews' article was printed in the Marietta *Register*, and copied into the Cincinnati *Gazette* of June 21, 1879.

CINCINNATI LIBRARY.

Robert Clarke says: "In February, 1802, two years previous to the establishment of the library at Ames, the citizens of this thriving little town, influenced by the same desire for mental improvement, met for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a library. A subscription paper was drawn up, and was soon filled with well-known names. This original paper now lies before me, and as it has never, so far as I know, appeared in print, I here copy it entire:”

CINCINNATI LIBRARY.

At a meeting held on Saturday evening, 13th instant, at Mr. Yeatman's tavern, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a public library in the town of Cincinnati, Messrs. Jacob Burner, Martin Baum and Lewis Kerr were appointed a committee to open a subscription for carrying the above project into effect.

The committee, therefore, respectfully submit the following form to the public for subscription:

We, the subscribers, being desirous of establishing a public library in the town of Cincinnati, agree to take as many shares in the stock of such an institution as are annexed to our names respectively, and pay for the same at the rate of ten dollars for each share.

Cincinnati, February 15, 1802.

Arthur St. Clair, 2; Peyton Short, 2; Cornelius R. Sedam, 2; Samuel C. Vance, 2; James Walker, 1; S. S. Kerr, 2; James Findlay, 2; Jeremiah Hunt, 2; Griffin Yeatman, 1; Martin Baum, 2; C. Killgore, 1; P. P. Stuart, 1; W. Stanley, 1; Jacob White, 2; Patrick Dickey, 1; C. Avery, 1; John Reilly, 1; John R. Mills, 1; Jacob Burnet, 1; Jonathan Smith Findlay, 1; William Ruffin, 1; Joseph

Prince, 1; David E. Wade, 1; Isaac Van Huys, 1; Joel Williams, 1.

In all thirty-four shares, making three hundred and forty dollars. Taking into consideration the great scarcity of money at the time, this was an exceedingly liberal subscription and must have secured for them a respectable library. In a note on the back of the subscription list it is stated that "the library went into operation March 6, 1802. Lewis Kerr was chosen librarian."

It is an interesting fact that as early as the thirtieth of January, 1802, Mr. A. Carey of Philadelphia advertised in the *Western Spy* and *Hamilton Gazette* as follows:

PUBLIC AUCTION.

Will be offered for sale, on Tuesday, the second day of February, at the court house, in Cincinnati, a handsome collection of books and pamphlets.

Mr. Clarke very reasonably conjectures that "these advertisements, with the original manuscript subscription list, show that the project was hastily conceived and promptly carried out, doubtless in order to take advantage of the presence of Mr. Carey and his handsome collection." Of the subsequent history of this library no records have been found.

THE CIRCULATING LIBRARY.

The second public library of Cincinnati was opened in 1814. Rare copies exist of a 'Systematic Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Circulating Library Society of Cincinnati, to which are prefixed an Historical Preface, the Act of Incorporation, and By-Laws of the Society. Published by order of the Board of Directors. Cincinnati: Printed

by Looker, Palmer & Reynolds, 1816.' The "Historical Preface" evidently prepared by Dr. Daniel Drake, president of the society, tells us that "in the autumn of 1808 several persons desirous of seeing a public library established in Cincinnati, assembled for the purpose of applying to the legislature of the state for a law of incorporation;" that a petition and draft of bill were forwarded, but "for reasons not discovered to the petitioners, their prayer was not granted;" that in 1811 "the project was again revived, and a subscription paper circulated by George Turner, esq., with considerable success." A meeting of subscribers was held, a constitution adopted, and finally a charter of incorporation was secured. The "Preface" goes on to record that "on the sixteenth of April, 1814, the library containing little over three hundred volumes was opened. To effect an immediate increase of this diminutive collection was regarded as a great *desideratum*; and in addition to a pressing call for the unpaid subscriptions, the directors resolved upon and succeeded in borrowing from several persons small sums of money on a credit of three years without interest, and of purchasing from others a number of valuable books on the same terms." The first purchase of books (two hundred and fifty volumes) was made at Philadelphia in the summer of 1815. In the same year, "the trustees of Miami university authorized a committee of that board to examine the books belonging to that institution, and dispose of such as were not essential to its library. Of the books thus rejected, a committee

of the directors of the Library Society purchased, on credit, one hundred volumes, many of which are well suited to the popular taste." "In the autumn the board vested one of its members, about to visit the eastern cities, with discretionary power to purchase books. The fruits of this delegation were about four hundred volumes, among which are many rare and valuable works." The interesting document we quote is dated October 17, 1816, and signed by Daniel Drake, president, and Jessee Embree, secretary. The preface concludes as follows:

For the present year it has been found absolutely necessary to increase the annual assessments (\$1) a hundred per cent. To this measure no reasonable shareholder will object after a moment's reflection. In all similar institutions there is a contribution of this kind, and in most of those with which the directors have any acquaintance, it is greater than that under consideration. Without it, no public library can flourish.

The directors of the Circulating Library in 1816 were, Daniel Drake, Jesse Embree, William S. Hatch, Thomas Peirce, Peyton S. Symmes, David Wade, Micajah T. Williams. The librarian was David Cathcart.

The library contained about one thousand four hundred volumes, value estimated at three thousand dollars. The books were classified in the catalogue under these heads: Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and the Veterinary Art, Botany and Medicine, Biography, Chemistry, Mineralogy and the Arts, Drama, Education and Polite Literature, Geography and Topography, Civil History, Law and Politics, Moral Philosophy, Military Tactics, Modern Clas-

sics, Miscellany, Natural History, Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, Novels, Political Economy, Statistics and Commerce, Philology, Periodical Works, Poetry, Theology and Ecclesiastical History, Voyages and Travels, Donations.

Among the donors to this ambitious collection were Christopher Anthony, S. D. Baldwin, Wm. H. Benton, William Corry, Daniel Drake, Professor Hosack of New York, William S. Hatch, Samuel Lowry, James H. Looker, Professor E. D. Mansfield of the Military academy, West Point, Josiah Meigs of Washington, Richard Marsh, Thomas Rawlins, Peyton S. Symmes, Cleves Short and David Wade.

In the departments of history, law and theology, this early library was well supplied. It contained, in biography, Boswell's 'Johnson,' Johnson's 'Poets,' Marshall's 'Washington,' Roscoe's 'Lorenzo de Medici,' Southey's 'Nelson,' Voltaire's 'Peter, the Great,' and 'Charles XII.' Under the head *Modern Classics* it included 'The Adventurer,' 'The Tattler,' 'The Spectator,' 'The Guardian,' 'The Rambler,' the works of Bacon, Beatty, Sterne and Swift, Johnson's 'Rasselas' and Irving's 'Salmagundi.' Fiction and poetry were represented by Edgeworth, Hannah Moore, Madam d'Arblay, Madam de Stael, Cervantes, Mrs. Opie, Henry Brooks, Smollett, Mackenzie, Rousseau, Miss Porter, Mrs. Hoffland, Holcroft, Goldsmith, Akenside, Beattie, Barlow, Butler, Burns, Bloomfield, Byron, Crabbe, Cowper, Campbell, Darwin, Dryden, Freneau, Gray, Hogg, Homer, House,

Moore, Montgomery, Pope, Southey, Thompson, Trumbull, Scott.

Some of the by-laws of the Circulating Library society are curious in their minute stringency of detail. For example:

Every shareholder shall be entitled to receive from the library two volumes for each share he may hold therein.

All persons are debarred from the privilege of lending any book taken out of the library to a non-shareholder, under the penalty of *one dollar* for every such offense.

The time for detaining a book out of the library shall be: for a duodecimo, or any number of a periodical journal, one week; for an octavo, two weeks; for a quarto, three weeks; and for a folio, four weeks. And if any book be not returned according to the times specified, there shall be paid a *fine of six and one-quarter cents*, for a duodecimo, *twelve and a half cents* for an octavo, and *twenty-five cents* for a quarto or folio volume, and the fines shall be respectively doubled on every succeeding week, until they shall amount to the value of the book. *Provided*, That the above periods be extended two weeks to persons resident in the country.

A deposit of *five dollars* shall be made with the librarian by every shareholder on receiving a volume of the 'Cyclopaedia' (Rees), 'Wilson's Ornithology,' or the 'English and Classical Dictionary.'

Mansfield & Drakes' 'Cincinnati in 1826' informs us that the Circulating Library "is kept in one of the lower rooms of the college edifice, where access may be had to it every Saturday afternoon." The "college edifice" was the original Cincinnati college building, first known as the Lancastrian seminary, from the fact that a large school on the Lancastrian method was conducted there in 1815, by Edmund Harrison, under the presidency of Jacob Burnet, author of 'Notes on the Northwestern Territory.' Eventually, for some reason unknown to the writer, the books were

boxed up and packed away in the cellar of a book-store on Main street. Here they remained for several years, gathering dampness and mold, until Rev. J. H. Perkins, author of the invaluable 'Western Annals,' assumed the responsibility of overhauling the boxes and bringing their neglected contents to the light. Many of the books were entirely ruined. The treasured volumes of 'Wilson's Ornithology' fell to pieces of their own weight. Such of the books as were in tolerable condition were selected and placed upon the shelves of the library of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, a harbor destined to receive the drifting remnants of several pioneer collections.

The history of the Circulating Library reflects vividly the kind and degree of culture possessed by the Queen City of the west in her ambitious youth. The kind was practical, the degree high enough to grasp the relations of reading with academic training, and to stimulate several original literary enterprises. The seminary, which grew up with the library and was nourished by it, was the first important school in the city. The men whose provincial enthusiasm over a few hundred books provokes a smile, in-

cluded in their number some authors not to be despised.

At the time of the formation of this library society, the entire population of the Queen City was less than six thousand. In 1813, according to a census taken by order of the town council, the population was only four thousand. However, there was a high degree of intelligence among the citizens, and a zealous public spirit. Many of the early settlers of Cincinnati were educated persons, and had a correct appreciation of the value of books, schools, and like means of intellectual cultivation. The decade extending from 1810 to 1820, which includes the period of the establishment of the Circulating Library, seems to have been a time of considerable literary activity and productiveness in the young metropolis of the Miami country. It was then that permanent newspapers were established here, then that books were first made in Ohio, that schools received special attention, that libraries came into popular demand, and that science and art found here true devotees. An association for literary and scientific improvement was established, under the presidency of the accomplished Josiah Meigs.

W. H. VENABLE.

DETROIT DURING REVOLUTIONARY DAYS.

ONE hundred years ago the Revolutionary War had terminated, with the English still in full possession of Detroit, and determined to retain control. What was known as the west had been surrendered to the United States by the treaty of 1783; but it was claimed that deception had been practiced, that the boundary was indefinite, and that the treaty was not binding because certain states had failed to pay their English debts. It was under these conditions and while negotiations for the delivery of the western posts were in progress, Colonel De Peyster being in command of Detroit, that on a bright morning in June his majesty's schooner the *Faith*, from Fort Niagara, reached the mouth of the Detroit, bringing supplies of salted meats, oatmeal, and gunpowder for the garrison, and also some general merchandise. Availing themselves of the opportunity, several officers' wives were making the trip in order to join their husbands at Detroit. Among them was the wife of Lieutenant Pool of England, then stationed at this post. It was the first voyage of most of the ladies through the strait, and it is no wonder that they were enthusiastic, for beautiful as the scenery is now, it was then much more captivating. The islands were all densely wooded; deer, bears, and turkeys

peopled the steep and thicketed banks, and along the shores innumerable ducks were diving amid the white and blue of the pond-lily and the sweet-flag, while here and there the smoke of wigwams streamed upward through the trees.

But hark! what loud and lusty song is this that greets the passengers? It seems to come from just beyond that bend, which sailors call the point.

The voices are in tune,
And the oars keep time,
The rowers seem merry and free.

Ah! here they are, true relics of the old regime, the veritable *couriers-de-bois* of the days of Cadillac, in one of those wonderful Mackinaw canoes. The boat is of birch bark, thirty-five feet long and six feet wide; she carries twice a ton, and yet she rides the water as graceful as a swan. Look at those bales of furs! That tarpaulin covers their blankets and their food. See those bronzed and bearded faces; notice the muscular action of those well-developed arms. The boatmen sing in perfect time, and the birds along the shore fill out the cheerful chorus. Meanwhile the *Faith* moves onward through the strait and signs of habitation increasingly appear, most noticeable of all are the round-towered and red-painted windmills with

broad arms that loom against the clear blue sky.

"Is this Holland?" asks one of the ladies, "or are we in that fairyland where brownies grind the grain?

Just then the breeze freshened, filling the sails of the vessel; the wings of the mills also felt the air, and waved their welcome to the *voyageurs*.

As the schooner moved along, the ribbon farms, each fronting a narrow strip of shore and stretching back towards the woods, grew more numerous, and the *voyageurs* yielding fully to the beauty of the scene became more and more appreciative.

See those monstrous trees, quite near the bank; they tower aloft, overtopping all the others. Gigantic pear-trees from Normandy! Nowhere else in all the land does such a sight appear. "Look," says another, at "those wild vines, how they leap from tree to tree, forming a natural arbor 'neath which one might lie, sheltered all day long, and gaze upon the river." Yes, and there are orchards too. This region is famous for its apples and sweet pears. How fragrant and fresh these south winds blow. Surely this is Acadia or Utopia, or a land fairer still, with the beauties of both combined. Low log-houses with steep roofs thatched with bark, dot the banks at regular intervals, one to every farm. Their white chimneys seem whiter still by contrast with the gray and brown of the roofs, and the green foliage of the trees.

"Captain," says Mrs. England, "what stream is this we're passing now, near where the river bends northeast?"

"That is Cabacier's, and yonder are his house and mill."

"See! a canoe shoots from the stream and crosses in our wake. That French girl paddles her canoe with wondrous skill and grace. Now another darts from yonder shore, and—yes; he was expected! she no longer plies the oar, but side by side the two boats drift, while we move on."

Another stream now comes in view—the Savoyard.

It skirts about the town
A natural moat, where dug-outs float,
For traffic up and down.

The stockade now is plainly seen: Its high pickets, close set and sharp pointed, guard the town, and, on the higher ground beyond, the guns of Fort Lernoult glisten in the sunlight. Hark! they signal us. The cannon booms from the battery at the water's edge, and now the flag appears, and the royal standard of King George, bright red, with corner of white cross bars, floats out upon the air. Surely we may feel glad! The flag to us means safety and protection.

Well, here we are at last, and from the high banks our friends come hurrying down. Lay to, and let the anchor drop. This is the king's wharf, and we are welcome.

"Ah, Colonel, I am glad to see and hear you once again. What new honors have you won from Burns,* and what's your latest pun?"

"The Indians, do you clothe them well, and give them corn and rum?"

*De Peyster was a personal friend of the great Scotch poet.

"Who led the dance last night, and what's the news from home?"

"Hold! let's on these ponies and canter to the town."

"These friends? There comes an escort who will take them home."

"What, streets? Well, this is quaint indeed. Why, you can almost touch each roof. The houses, however, look real cozy, and they are safe of course, within the palisade."

"Why, Pool! and where were you? The colonel met me at the boat. Busy? Well, I knew 'twas so. Is this the house?"

"Yes, and may St. James defend, we are lodged upon his street. This is our room, low but large."

"Anywhere with you!"

"The dormers will give air, and the walls lined with deerskins will vanquish winter's cold. These beams must be of cedar. Yes, it still perfumes the room. With Indian mats for curtains, and rugs from bear and deer, 'twill be a pleasant home."

"Dinner? I am glad. I'm hungry as a bear."

"Broiled whitefish, did you say? Roast duck and wild turkey, with cranberries; rabbit pie, Indian samp and wild honey, with shrub and muscatelle, and real Jamaica rum for those who tarry after we have left the room. Well, we must keep this country, that is sure. I'm glad you asked De Peyster and Macomb to dine. I know they will be pleased."

"What perfect servants these Pawnees make! Black Nance and Jim could do no better. I hear some green

slaves have lately come from Albany. I wish those joy that have the training of these new importations."

"Poor fellows, some have found hard masters. I think the governor should interfere, to mitigate the treatment they receive."

"What's this, a peach? Yes, and a poem too. Ah! the colonel is still poetical. Let's see what now has left his pen":

"Accept, fair Ann, I do beseech,
This tempting gift, a clingstone peach,
The finest fruit I culled from three,
Which you may safely take from me.
Should Pool request to share the favor,
Eat you the peach, give him the flavor,
Which surely he can't take amiss,
When 'tis so heightened by your kiss."

"Ah! Colonel, he shall have them both, when we're alone again."

"Mr. Macomb, what's this I hear? Are you trying to tempt the whole community to gather at your store? Such lovely crimson satins and straw-colored silks, as I am told, were never seen before; and those new styles of high-heeled slippers with bows of gilded leather. Save two pair at least for me: I'm coming down to-morrow."

"You've other goods, you say. Yes, I know of some, for the manifest of goods on board the boat was plain, and a box was broken on the way."

"When I come, pray keep those horrid knives hidden out of sight. I cannot bear to see—'tis bad enough to know—that Indians buy, and that you sell such dreadful wares."

"The rebels must be punished, do you say? Yes, of course; but is there not some better and more Christian way

than to encourage savages to scalp our former friends?"

"Take care! say you? Oh, never fear for me. I know of rebel sympathizers, even in this room, that wish and wait for the day when we shall leave this post. But as for me, I love the service and am a loyal subject of the king. Good-bye, I'll see you at the wedding."

"Thank fortune, Pool, we're here at last."

"Yes, and everybody else of any note in town. The bride's a special favorite, her father's farm's the oldest on the river, and the family are accounted among the very best. The groom is a lieutenant in the Rangers. He is a well-known and noble son of a worthy English sire, and a real acquisition to our society. At other posts he kept aloof from all entanglements, but soon after coming here he surrendered, and to-night will formally capitulate."

"I'm glad it's so near over. Those who attend St. Anne's have been on tiptoe many days; they've heard the bans three times."

"Look, Pool, see how queer that woman's dressed. I'm glad I came; there's one at least that's honored the occasion with a new dress; and it fits me like a glove."

"Those maidens in blue kirtles show off well. Short dresses are becoming with a neat and glossy shoe."

"But see! the notary has come, with paper and ink-horn. He reads the wedding contract, which specifies at length the dowry of the bride, and in it all the guests are named, with

their relationship, if any, to bride and groom."

"Hush! there they come, the bride in white satin with long and pointed waist, and a full skirt, without a train. The groom in uniform looks every inch a man. And now the ceremony has begun. Priest Frechette stands before them in straight and long black gown, he counsels and then marries them in sacramental form; and when his prayer is done, with grave and easy tone De Peyster reads the English service, and promises are duly made, and the pair are doubly wed. Congratulations are now given and kisses are bestowed, and jokes and fun begin."

"In that small room upon the west is a tankard full of home-brewed ale, and beside it pitchers for hard cider, and they are frequently refilled, and there is cake for all. The fiddler now begins to tune and the oaken floor to shake, and merriment increases as the hours move. But hark! the clock strikes one, the dancing ceases, and in groups and pairs the guests go home."

"Come, Ann, let's take a morning walk along the shore where the Indians are; we'll stop and get the colonel on the way. How crowded these streets keep; there's danger here from fire."

"This is St. Anne's street, and there the ancient bake-house stands; and see the baker is at the door. The upper half is open to admit the cooling air; the lower shuts out dogs. The baker is an important person here, the trade of all the town is centered in his hands; but still he may not grow rich fast, for every month the governor fixes weight and

price of what he has to sell. He must have quite a fire beneath his oven. See his chimney, see the smoke outpour! Why, man, your bakery's on fire."

"Fire! Fire! How the people fly! See the crowds from every house and store. Some, with swabs on poles, try to beat the flames. Others dart down to the stream with pail in either hand. They gather by the score and form in double line, clear to the water's edge and back again. The buckets are dashed into the stream, and then passed from hand to hand, and soon the water pours upon the flames, and then the empty pails are handed on again to be refilled.

The flame dies down, the smoke slowly clears away. The baker thanks his neighbors and his friends, and the crowd disperses."

"Look at those Indians, one chieftain and five squaws; these last have each a young papoose, with other burdens, on their backs; a strap about the forehead helps to bear the strain, yet they bend over almost double with the weight they carry. No wonder that the men are straight, they do not serve and slave."

"There is a war-chief fully painted. It is hard to tell which is the gayer—his face and head all streaked and smeared with ochre and vermillion, and crowned with eagle's feathers, or the scarlet blanket that enwraps him. Look at his belt, see the red-handled scalping knife and tomahawk. Yes, and there's another knife within his green-laced deer-skin habit. What's that? A ruffled shirt, as I'm alive! Well, the king's servants are generous to his savage allies. Hear the bells tinkle on the bor-

der of his blanket; but for this you would not hear the motion of his walk, for as he steps his moccasins give forth no sound. His breast is decorated with an enormous silver gorget. They truly say that yearly, barrels full of silver works are given to these braves. Even his fusil is heavy with the silver that ornaments the stock."

"Stay, Pool, here's Macomb's. Let's go in and see the latest goods. I want to see them now. Such lovely satin petticoats and long silk hose. See, there's some black silk breeches with silver buckles at the knee, just the thing for Dr. Anthon."

"Straw-colored silks, please. One pattern only of this shade? Well, I'm glad; 'twill match the golden bows of these slippers well, and fit me for the ball."

"Let's go. Why, here's the council house and there's a crowd of Indians about the door. We'll wait until they enter, and see what brings them."

"It's a war party just returned from the back settlements of Virginia."

"See, De Peyster takes the chair, and the Indians seat themselves upon the floor, and pass the pipe around. No word is spoken until all have puffed the calumet."

"The chief arises now, and throws his blanket off, and lays down from off his back a string of human scalps. 'We have seen the enemy' he says; 'ten papoose, thirty-two men's and forty women's scalps.'

"I cannot bear to see. Let's go."

"Not now Ann. Let us see the end."

"How now? De Peyster says 'twould

please me much, if you had brought live meat instead. The king likes not this killing since the war has closed."

"The Indian's brow grows dark. 'Who gave,' he says, 'these tomahawks and knives, and for what were we fed and clothed?'"

"Yes, you are right; but now we mean to be brothers with the Virginians, unless they treat you wrong, and then we'll put them out of sight. No matter now, to-morrow we will talk more. Go to the commissary, he will give you food, new blankets, tobacco, wampum, looking-glasses and other useful things. Good-bye."

"Sergeant, when they are gone, lock the door and put those scalps away. *O, God! And this is war!*"

"What, more?"

"Yes, colonel, prisoners from Kentucky. Of women there's a score, also eight children and thirty-seven men."

"Well, thank God they were not killed.' Horrors! How their clothes are torn, their faces scratched and pale. How sad and tired they look, with bleeding feet, and hungry eyes red with weeping."

"See that lovely girl! Even her sad fate cannot hide her beauty."

"But what's done is done. Our part to act like men. Here, sergeant, go through the town at once, present my compliments to the rebel ladies of the place (you know them all), and to my own as well. Tell them there's room to show humanity at the citadel. They know what ladies of the post have oft been gathered there. Meantime lead these forth at once, and let them wash

and rest, and bid that food be served."

"Come, colonel, we are for a walk. Go with us and forget these dreadful scenes."

"Thank you, I will go. Here, pass through the eastern gate, where Pontiac went of yore. Brave souls were always at this post; and there, near to the gate, in the king's garden, Dalzell's bones repose. Right here's a busy place, the king's ships are kept in good repair, and the skeletons of new vessels on the stocks uprear."

"There comes another vessel laden with Indian goods, I'm sure. It seems as if there was no limit to the needs of these wild western tribes. They cost us more than twice as much as redcoats woudl, and still they are not satisfied. It's 'give, give, me hungry' and 'me rum more,' until I'm losing flesh with listening to their cry. Yet what can we do? We can't turn back, or else we'll lose them all, and lose our cause besides."

"There's a new party coming in canoes, and now there'll be another ox-roast to provide, and a dog-stew also. There's one advantage, however, in this last, 'twill lessen somewhat the number of abominable curs that hang around. It seems to me as if at every farm there is at least a score, besides the numbers in the town. Here I must leave you. Adieu."

"Come, Ann, we'll go on. Here's the headquarters for the Indian trade. What will you have, some gay moccasins, or a macock of pure maple, a basket filled with huckleberries, or a fur mask for winter to shield your face from harm? See those little scamps at play!

They're just about the color of the sand, and seem to feel as happy as the clams upon the shore. Notice that young squaw! If her face were only whiter, and she wore a better gown, she would turn the heads and hearts of the young men of the town. She is graceful in her motions and shapely in her form; she is beautiful to see—now, don't begin to frown. Let's walk the other way and see the sun go down."

"Hark! Pool! What noise is that? What means this beating of a drum?"

"Oh, 'hat's to attract attention. He's giving notice up and down that the garrison wants straw and wood. He's the crier for the town. It's the only way we have, except on Sundays, at St. Anne's. After church you'll find that everything that's going on, or wanted, is proclaimed beside the old church door.

"The sun is out of sight. Hear the cannon boom; and now the angelus is rung. The main gates to the palisade will soon be closed, but the wicket will let us in, and to-night the council-room will hear the merry song, and nimble feet will trip the time away."

"Is this Sunday?"

"Well, I hardly know. Yes, it must be, for there's the bugle for the grand review. 'Tis well to mark the time in some respectful way, and discipline is good. We keep the Sabbath day by putting an extra polish on our boots, and by an extra drill; the chaplain reads a service once a month or so, but that is all. He's busy mostly with his dogs and gun, and the men care but little for him."

"Yes, it is wrong; we should keep the day more sacred, and help the spirit

to overcome the flesh in the battle which it wages. I will try to get a better chaplain soon. I know of a good man, who seeks the welfare of his fellow-men with true and zealous longing. Would that I were like him."

"See, the service at St. Anne's is done, and crowds come out and linger round the door. Let's go and hear the news, and see the people race their ponies on the way towards home."

"The crier calls."

"An auction at the Rouge, and a race when it is over, free to all.

"Four ponies for sale cheap, and also an old sow. A dance at Bloody Run. New pickets ordered on the westward of the town. The militia will parade on Wednesday next."

"That's all; he's done."

See the people crowd into their carts,
And see them all sit down;
There's straw in every box
And room for every one.
They're full of laughter,
And their words flow faster
Than their ponies ever run.
They rush through yonder gateways,
Some eastward and some west;
They shout out to their ponies
And urge them to their best.
They're happy almost every day,
But Sunday—well, to them,
But not unto their ponies.
This is a day of rest.

"Moravians, did you say? Where? How came they here?"

"They're from the settlement, on the Huron of St. Clair. De Peyster sent them there to keep them from communicating with Americans. They've always seemed, however, to be true to their one work, and whenever they come here are

most warmly welcome. To-day they'll hold a service in a field back of the town, between the Savoyard and the fort.

"To many of the troops, to hear once more the German tongue in song and prayer, is like going to the fatherland. The missionaries also speak in English, and their simple-hearted words have often made me feel that they had something better than anything that I possess."

"Well, Pool, Sunday's over and Monday's well begun. What's planned out for this week?"

"A canoe race."

"That surely will be fun."

"An Indian against a French girl."

"Ah, she'll win. I'll bet you ten to one. These girls are wonderfully active, with lots of reserve vim, and an Indian stands no chance with paddle against an oar. What else is on the carpet?"

"A drive along the shore."

"What, to Grosse Pointe?"

"Yes, and with cherries at the end and a dinner at Barbeaus."

"All right! Bring out the carriage, we'll be back at half-past four."

"What's this procession that meets us on the way? A funeral?"

"Yes; and that's the bier borne upon the shoulders of four stout men. The priest, bearing a crucifix aloft, goes slowly on before, and the mourners, with sad faces, follow. They're going to the little cemetery within the palisade, the churchyard of St. Anne's."

"How pleasant the waves sound as they wash along the shore. See that peculiar house; the sides as well as the roof are shingled, and there is one with a chimney, down which a prying bear might tumble. Look at those fish-nets hung on reels; and there they're hauling in a net upon the sandy shore. See, they hitch a pony to the seine. It is a wondrous haul, and now upon the sand hundreds of white fish glisten."

In yonder house a veteran lives,
A relic of the old French war;
He never loved the English, and is
Rebellious to the core.
He will not sell his grain to us,
Nor greet us at his door,
But lives in hopes the day will come
He'll see us here no more.

Hear those bobolinks!
Their song refreshes like a breeze.
There's a dozen rows of hives
Beneath those monstrous trees.

"Halt! Here we are, and now for dinner, a short rest after and then we'll speed toward home."

On the road once more;
How quiet nature seems.
This drive is just as full of rest
As one of childhood's dreams.

"What mean those boats—two schooners and a brig?"

"Yes, I feared 'twas so. Another regiment has come, and we—alas! we must go back to Niagara, and leave this western paradise for others to enjoy."

SILAS FARMER.

PITTSBURGH.

VII.

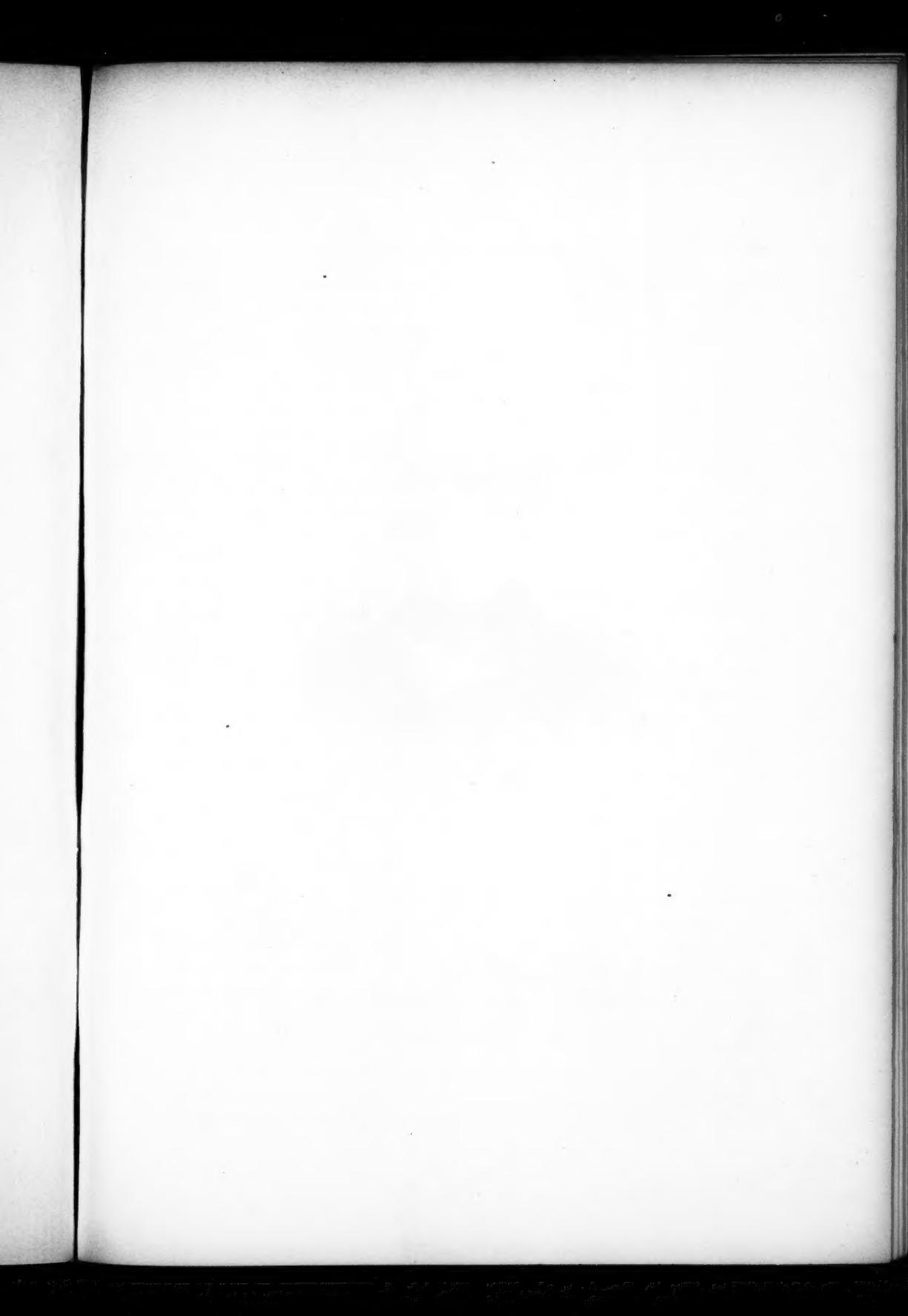
GEORGE WHITTEN JACKSON.

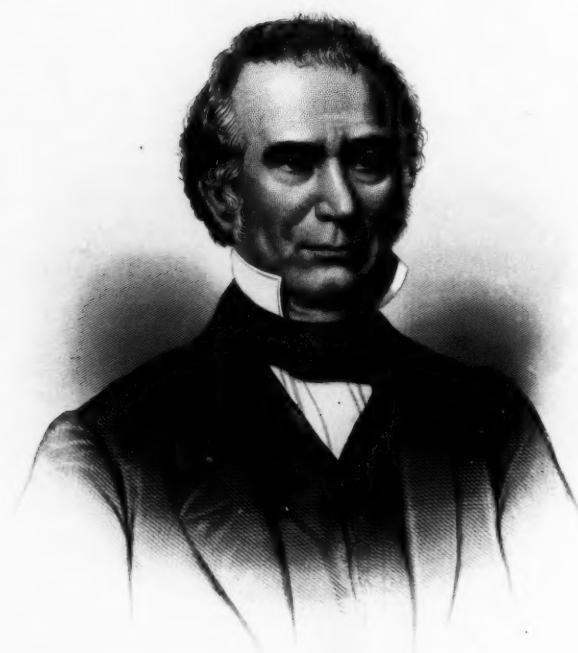
ALTHOUGH not a native of Pittsburgh, Mr. Jackson came there so young he may be fairly entitled to the name. He was born in Ireland, in 1801, and his father moved to Pittsburgh in 1806. He thus formed one of the connecting links between the place as the then frontier town and the prosperous city of half a century's growth; saw it change from a town with gas unknown even in its houses, to having its streets adorned with gas lamps and its unpaved thoroughfares changed to miles of pavement. He enjoyed such advantages of schools as the town then afforded, finishing his studies with Mr. Moody, who stood at the head of his profession. His old French grammar shows the accomplishments were not then neglected, and his dancing lessons were remembered and enjoyed throughout his life. In appearance he is spoken of, by one who knew him well, as "a man of medium height, erect in his carriage, quick in his movements, handsome features, a mouth that showed candor and determination, and eyes that well matched his mouth."

His father, John Jackson, was engaged in the manufacture of soap and candles, and was determined to have his son join him in the business, but such an

occupation was so distasteful to him that he ran off to Wheeling. A friend of the family, Mr. John Albree, followed him, bearing a letter from his mother, urging him to return; that, coupled with Mr. Albree's persuasion, brought him back, when he was taken into business by Mr. Albree in a grocery store, on the corner of Market street and the Diamond, opposite to where now stands Fleming's drug store. His father died in 1826, and in order to save as much as possible for his mother Mr. Jackson was obliged to take charge of the business, but disposed of it at the first opportunity to the predecessors of the present firm of Wilson & Gorman. He then went into the pork business, packing in Cincinnati, Columbus and Pittsburgh, and remained in the same business till his death, but had associated with him in the later years his nephew, George Jackson Townsend.

Before the days of railroads New Castle, Pennsylvania, was a point of considerable importance for the sale of heavy goods, made so by its canal interests. From the early part of 1845 till toward the close of 1852, he was in partnership with Mr. R. W. Cunningham of that place, carrying on a foundry, in the forwarding business, and dealing in grain, iron, steel and glass. It may





Magazine of Western History

Respectfully Yours
Gen. W. T. Sherman

Engd by E. G. Williams & Bro. N.Y.

illustrate his confiding disposition and judgment of character to mention the fact of his going into business with Mr. Cunningham without an examination of his assets, remaining so for nearly eight years, and retiring without looking further than the inventory. At the same time it was a compliment to Mr. Cunningham, which years have shown he richly deserved and Mr. Jackson's confidence was not misplaced.

In 1849 he bought a fourth interest in the Anchor cotton mills, just when a strike was prevailing among the operatives. Here it may be interesting to note the rise and fall of the cotton spinning interests of Pittsburgh. Then the city was thought to have marked advantages for that branch of manufactures, but its rivals on the sea coast outbid it for trade. In 1873, after much valuable machinery had been added to the mill, it was sold for full one hundred thousand dollars, the price at which a fourth interest was bought twenty-four years before. Since then the mill has been dismantled and is now used as the machine shop of the Westinghouse Air Brake company. Of the other mills the "Banner" and "Eagle" have been dismantled, and the "Penn" is offered for sale with very little probability of its being much longer operated as a cotton mill.

Mr. Jackson was a member of the board of directors of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' bank during the trying times of 1837, when it was strong and prepared to redeem its circulation, but the board deemed it prudent to suspend, whereupon he resigned, holding

that the bank ought not to take such a step when able to meet its promises. He was also at different times a member of the board of the Bank of Pittsburgh. He was married, in 1836, to Mary, daughter of the late Peter Beard, and who is described by one of her friends, still living, as "tall, of graceful figure, most beautiful complexion, eyes beaming with goodness and kindness." While granting to others the utmost freedom of thought on religious subjects, he was himself strongly attached to the Episcopal church, attending Trinity in early life and afterwards St. Andrew's.

Such is a brief statement of his business and social life, nothing very unusual in themselves, but he stamped his character on all he did, and in his business transactions his friends were wont to say "his word was as good as his bond." Had this been all, he would not have differed from very many others who have left a good name behind them. But being public spirited, he became largely identified with the general interests of the place. In the early days when the citizens manned the fire engines he was a member of the "Eagle," now known as "Engine No. 1," and for a time was captain of the company. He represented the Fourth ward in councils, and, in 1845, was president of the Select branch. In that year a fearful conflagration "destroyed the best half of the city of Pittsburgh." Aid flowed in in large quantities, both in cash and supplies. The money, amounting to over one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, was placed in the hands

of a committee of three, of which Mr. Jackson was a member:

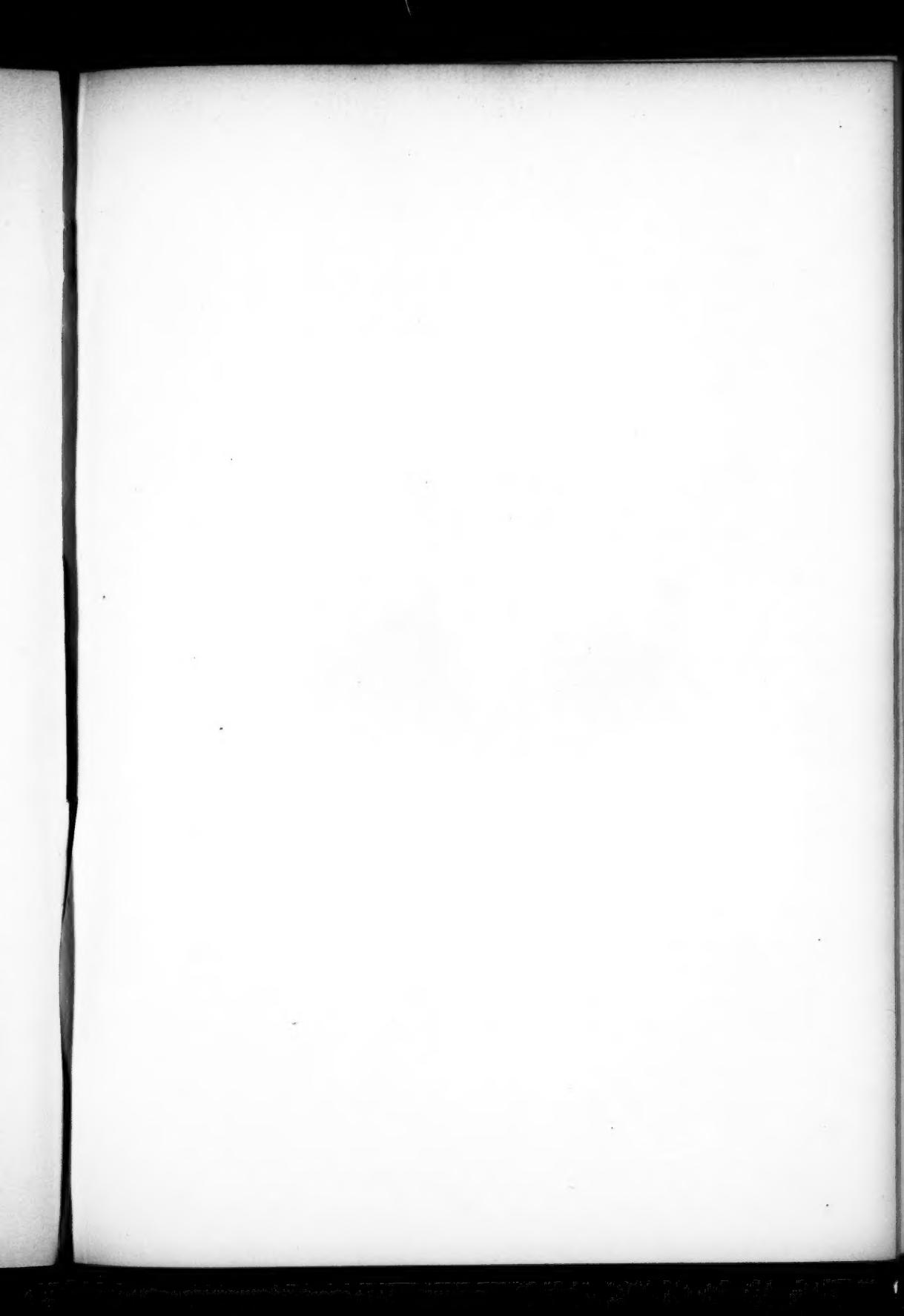
Politically, in early life he was a Democrat, but strongly impressed with the doctrines of the Federalists, he was too intense an American not to believe in a strong central government. In the exciting times of 1854, preceding the election of James Buchanan, Mr. Jackson was an ardent colonizer, taking an active part in sending settlers to Kansas, aiding the cause not only by money, but also by personal labor, in collecting funds and distributing to those whose spirit of adventure was carrying them to the then far west. He was a delegate to the convention held in Buffalo, in 1856, that nominated John C. Fremont.

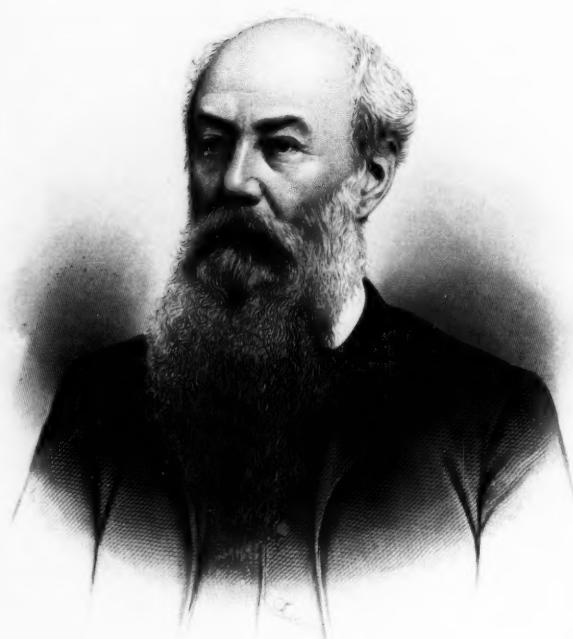
He was strongly impressed with the advantages presented by the valley of the Allegheny river for a railroad to the east, and thus avoiding the heavy grades of the mountains. He was one of a party that drove up the river to examine the route, and upon the organization of the Allegheny Valley Railroad company in 1852, he was elected a member of the board, taking an active part in its management. In 1859, owing to ill health, he was obliged to decline a reelection. He was a life member of the House of Refuge of Western Pennsylvania, an original member of the board of the Western Pennsylvania hospital, and for several years a life member. He strongly favored the erection of a hospital for the insane now known as Dixmont, and was one of the late Dr. Rees's firm supporters. He was a member of the Smithfield street bridge

board from 1836 till his death, consequently during the building of the suspension bridge, which replaced the barn bridge destroyed by the fire of 1845, and which in turn has given place to the present handsome structure. He was an intimate friend of Mr. John A. Roebling, the engineer in charge, who afterwards became so widely known by the building of the railroad bridge over the Niagara river, and the Brooklyn bridge.

Mr. Jackson was an incorporator of the Western Insurance company, and while his health permitted took a lively interest in the company's welfare. He died in September, 1862, and this sketch cannot perhaps be closed more fittingly than by quoting the obituary of him that appeared in the *Dispatch* of September 23 of that year:

We were obliged, owing to extreme illness, to be content on Monday with the mere announcement of the death of this well known citizen. Indeed in these days of slaughter by thousands of noble men on the battlefield, the community would scarcely realize the loss of any private citizen, however useful and honorable. Mr. George W. Jackson, however, was one whose loss may not soon be recompensed. He was in the truest sense a good citizen. Possessing large means, he employed them with judicious enterprise and liberality to advance the material prosperity of the community. We have often heard him spoken of as a kind landlord, suffering many losses from the dishonest and unworthy rather than cause distress to unfortunate tenants. He was, indeed, in all relations to his fellow men not merely just but merciful and charitable. He conducted an extensive private business successfully and always honorably. In political views he was ever outspoken and decided, but when convinced of error neither false pride nor party bigotry restrained him from acknowledging and correcting such error. He was a sincere Democrat, and at one time an influential member of the party so styled; but, being also a hater of oppression not merely in words or theory, but in sincerity, and regarding the attitude of his





Portrait of William Hostetler

W. Hostetler

party in late years on the slavery question as wholly inconsistent, he did not hesitate to leave it and place himself in the then hated minority, becoming an active, earnest opponent of slavery. His loyalty to the Union and the constitution was unswerving and unqualified. He was as incapable of "making money" out of the troubles and distresses of his country by dishonest contracts, mean robbery, place seeking, as of committing highway robbery or picking a pocket. In short, George W. Jackson was an unassuming, humane, fearless, enterprising, sincerely honest man, and his death is a most serious calamity.

DAVID HOSTETTER.

AMONG the many men who have aided in the building up of commercial and industrial Pittsburgh, there are few who have furnished that quality and quantity of energy, far-seeing judgment and courage of capital that have marked the labors and career of David Hostetter. He has always believed that Pittsburgh occupied a strategic point in the commercial advance of the country, that it held within it the germ of a great city, and that money risked on that belief was invested well, and where it would bring large returns. The results of this faith have been the best evidence of its wisdom. In the great personal success that he has won, and in the accumulation of the large fortune with which he has been blest, he has had only his brains and hands to depend on, and what he has done he has done alone. He commenced life humbly, like the majority of the great and successful men of the day. He was born on January 23, 1819, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. His father owned a farm, and at the same time engaged in the practice of medicine. The son was sent to school until he was sixteen years of

age, and on April 15, 1835, set out to make his own fortune in the world—just fifty years ago. He went to Lancaster, where he entered the dry goods store of Christopher Hager, and gave seven years of faithful and intelligent service. At the end of that time he engaged in a similar line of business on his own responsibility in Lancaster. He remained there for six years, and early in 1850 sold out and gave full sway to the Californian fever, which at that time held in thrall so many of the brightest and best young men of the country. He determined to try his chance in the new and far-off land, and on April 15, 1850, set out from New York on a steamer bound for the Isthmus of Panama. This point of destination was reached in safety, and the strip of land between the two oceans was crossed on the back of a mule. On reaching the city of Panama, on the Pacific side of the continent, he was compelled to wait for three long and wearisome months for the arrival of a steamer for which his ticket of passage called. He had a better chance for the study of Central American life and customs than most men would care for, and with which he would have willingly dispensed. Among the other white men located in that halting-place on the road between civilization and the new found Eldorado, and doing such business as fell in the way, was the late Commodore Garrison of New York, who was in partnership with a man named Fritz, from New Orleans, under the firm name of Garrison & Fritz. Their business was of a general nature. They owned and man-

aged a bank. They bought anything they thought could be sold, and sold anything for which a customer could be found. They kept a record of all the vessels going up and down the coast, and knowing what each would be likely to want, hailed other vessels and laid in supplies against the day of demand, doing a general merchandise brokerage for such as had goods for sale or needed a replenishment. When the long-looked for steamer at last arrived, and Mr. Hostetter set out upon his journey, he found Garrison among the passengers, and also Ralston, who was afterwards the great banker and financier of the Pacific coast, and whose melancholy death by suicide or accidental drowning was recorded only a few years ago. On their voyage up, seven of those on board died of Panama fever, a malarial disease which was only too ready to fasten on those who had not become accustomed to the Central American climate. The voyage occupied fourteen days, and on arriving at San Francisco, Mr. Hostetter engaged on his own account in the grocery and provision business. It was in August that he had fairly made his start, and in September a fire swept away the board building in which his business was located, burned all his goods and left him almost penniless. He remained until in February, 1851, when he determined to return to civilization, going home by the same route as the one on which he had come, and reaching New York in the same month. He soon engaged with the firm of McEvoy & Clark, on the Pennsylvania road, at Horseshoe Bend, in the position

of paymaster. He remained with them for nearly two years, and went to Pittsburgh on November 1, 1853, where he soon commenced the manufacture of the stomach bitters that have carried his name into every corner of the globe, his father, an educated physician of long practice and scientific knowledge, furnishing the formula upon which the preparation was based. His partner, George W. Smith, in the firm of Hostetter & Smith, which was then formed, had also come from Lancaster, and was with him on the Horseshoe Bend. Their earliest location was on Penn street, near Hand street, and after four years there they removed to one of the buildings now occupied on Water street. The partnership and business continued without change or break until the death of Mr. Smith, which occurred about a year ago. The old firm was then succeeded by that of Hostetter & Co. Space need not be taken to mention the size and extent to which the business grew. Suffice it to say that there is no civilized country in the world into which it has not gone with a steady and constant trade, that for the last twenty years the business of the firm has averaged seven hundred thousand dollars annually, and that in the last thirty-two years it has done a total of between eighteen and twenty million dollars' worth of business, all of which has flown through the commercial channels of Pittsburgh.

But this is only one of the many points through which Mr. Hostetter has touched on the business life of Pittsburgh. When the Fort Pitt bank was

organized some eighteen years ago, he was among its friends and backers, has been in its directory from the first, and is at present the president. He has for fifteen years been a director in the Farmers' Deposit National bank. In 1877 he took an active part in building the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad, and is now and has been for many years its vice-president, and has been in its directory from the beginning. His services to the public in that direction have been of inestimable value, as this new line broke for the first time the hold of the Pennsylvania company on Pittsburgh, and gave it a competitive outlet to the west and northwest. Operated in connection with the New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio road, it forms an air line from Pittsburgh to Cleveland *via* Youngstown, passing through a most beautiful country, with no change of cars, and is in all respects one of the most perfect railroad highways to be found in America. Mr. Hostetter is also a director in the Pittsburgh, McKeesport & Youghiogheny railroad, and was one of the active forces by which the South Pennsylvania road came recently into being. He was one of the committee appointed to build the road, is one of its directors, and has been its strong and able backer and friend from the start. He has always been ready with his capital, experience and courage to give life and strength to any railroad venture that would aid Pittsburgh or assist it to hold its place in the fierce business rivalry of these days. The same could be said of him in connection with other lines of de-

velopment. The admirable combination of the three above-named requisites he placed at the service of the natural gas experiment, when it was but an experiment, stands in proof of this assertion. For some thirteen or fourteen years he has been president of the Pittsburgh Gas company, and is interested in the gas works at Allegheny, and a director in the East End Gas company, and naturally the question of gas, as applied to illumination or fuel purposes, has occupied his mind and attention. When the question of making permanent commercial and manufacturing use of natural gas came up, he was one of the first to give it a practical and scientific investigation. The first dry well of gas was found at Millerstown, about thirty miles from Pittsburgh, some thirteen years ago. He saw at a glance what it might mean, and procuring quantities of it in rubber bags brought it to Pittsburgh and had it analyzed. The product of that well was made use of on the ground to furnish fuel for the engines engaged in drilling other wells. The next large well was struck some seven years ago at Murrysville, on property owned by a farmer named Haymaker. The latter came to Pittsburgh and offered the well to Mr. Hostetter for one hundred thousand dollars. The latter looked on the demand as preposterous, and offered him ten thousand. The owner then came down to forty thousand dollars, but his offer was refused. He subsequently sold a part interest to Chicago parties, and in a quarrel that arose touching its ownership, was killed by a

shot from one of the other parties to the dispute. Just at that time Mr. Hostetter was so engaged in the railroad line that he did not care to go into anything new, but a couple of years ago he turned his attention toward the gas question with characteristic energy and important results. The Fuel Company of Allegheny was started, and of that he took forty per cent. of the stock. He also became interested in the Pennsylvania Fuel company, and the final result was that he bought these two concerns and consolidated them with the Philadelphia company, or rather sold them to the latter corporation, and took part of his pay in stock and notes for the balance, becoming one-fourth owner of the Philadelphia company. He is a director in that company and one of the most courageous and active among those who have its interests in charge. It is the owner of some twenty-five or thirty wells, and controls a large amount of territory. Some of the wells are from fifteen to twenty-five miles from Pittsburgh, and it has taken an immense amount of money to lay the pipes by which the gas is carried to the place of its consumption. The capital of the Philadelphia company is five million dollars. As some evidence of the greatness of this new source of wealth that has so recently come into being, I make the following extracts from an exhaustive article recently published in the *New York Times*:

Natural gas is king in Pittsburgh. Every steel and iron mill, glass factory and manufactory generally of any consequence, besides many private dwellings, now depend upon gas for fuel. Every day natural gas keeps in motion acres of machinery,

heats thousands of tons of metal, and molds into shapes for articles of commerce millions of pieces of glass. The Philadelphia company, which is the largest concern, alone supplies with fuel 56 glass factories, 34 rolling mills, 5 steel works, 45 large manufacturing establishments, 44 other works and 900 dwelling houses. The advantages of natural gas over coal are numerous. Gas is far cheaper as fuel than coal. The annual saving in this respect is roughly estimated at five hundred thousand dollars. Still, the inexpensiveness of natural gas as a fuel is not the most important economic item in its favor. The saving of labor by its use is of much greater value. The large number of men who two years ago were required to attend to fires have lost their occupation with the introduction of natural gas. The coal heavers, firemen and ash haulers have been compelled to seek other employment. The change is startling. Where formerly thirty, forty or one hundred firemen were at work in one boiler house handling every day several hundred tons of coal, the spectator now looks upon a long row of boilers attended by one man, with not a lump of coal in sight. In many of the great works a pound of coal has not been in use for a year. Where were once furnace doors are now brick walls with eyelet holes to give simply a view of the interior. . . . How long will the supply of natural gas last? is the question that is discussed in western Pennsylvania at present with much interest. On its answer depends many millions of dollars. Experts assert that there is no reason to doubt that it will supply enough manufacturing fuel for use in the next half century. They point to the fact that there are wells scattered all through the oil regions that have been burning for the past twenty years without any appreciable diminution in their flow. At Saxon station, on the West Pennsylvania railroad, twenty-five miles north of Pittsburgh, a lampblack factory, with one thousand gas jets burning, has received its entire supply from one gas well for sixteen years. Its flow has not decreased in the slightest degree. Thirteen years ago Professor Otto Wuth made a test of the volume of gas thrown into the air by the Burns well of Butler county. He recorded the amount expended at 1,700 feet per second, equal to 1,200 tons of coal a day. The outflow of the Burns well to-day is practically the same. It has not diminished five feet a second.

In 1869 Mr. Hostetter was induced by parties in the oil business to make a

venture in that direction, which resulted in a heavy loss and long litigation; and in order to recover a part of that loss he engaged in 1875 in the building of a pipe line from Pittsburgh to Millerstown, a distance of thirty-one miles. The oil was pumped to Pittsburgh to supply the refiners at that point. This was the first long line for pumping oil that had four pumps along it—a wise precaution, for if a pump should for any cause get out of order, connection could be made to pump past that station; although since that time machinery has been employed to force the oil one hundred miles on lines leading to the seaboard. In opening his line for business, Mr. Hostetter encountered the opposition of the Pennsylvania Railroad company; and soon after starting operations an engine was sent to a point where the oil line crossed the railroad under an opening, for which the right of way had been paid; a strong chain, with a hook at the end, was fastened to the pipe and then attached to the engine; the engineer started up, the pipe was parted, and the oil flowed into the fields, but was soon stopped by closing the valve at the tank. The question was then as to what should be done. To go to court was of little use, as the railroad influence in judicial matters at that time was of that peculiar character that it was not to be lightly met. Mr. Hostetter's nerve and power of resource came to his aid, and he decided to carry his oil to a public road and there find a crossing for it. He accordingly purchased property on both sides of the railroad, and put up a receiving tank on each side. The oil was hauled across

with teams attached to a twenty-five barrel tank on wheels. It would be filled on one side of the road, drawn across and emptied into the other tank. From thence it was pumped into other large tanks, and again pumped onward to the various refineries. The nervy oil transporter was then happy for a short time, when the Baltimore & Ohio road, with which he and his associates had a contract for freights to Baltimore, declined to receive the goods as fast as they were obliged to ship them. Feeling that he was to be again victimized, Mr. Hostetter concluded to sell out to the Standard Oil company, which he did in self defense in September, 1877, at a profit which let him out of the oil business, and he has given it a wide berth ever since.

Early in January, 1854, Mr. Hostetter started west to work up a trade, and stopped at Cincinnati, Ohio, to establish an agency. While there he became acquainted with Rosetta Rickey, daughter of Randall Rickey, whom he married on July 13 of the same year. Five children, four sons and one daughter, have been born to them. Their eldest son, Harry, entered Yale college in 1874. In 1875 he was advised by his instructor to go to Germany and France to study the languages of those countries. After accomplishing that purpose in the first year of his residence abroad, he decided not to return to Yale but to enter at Heidelberg, where he graduated on the following year, being the only student who ever graduated in the first year in that great seat of learning, having saved one year by hard study. His

father allowed him a year for travel on the continent, in company with his mother, sister, and a younger brother. After doing England, France and Germany, they went to Rome, where they tarried rather late. The sister was attacked at Florence, on their return journey to Paris, with Roman fever, while her brother Harry gave her every attention. When she became convalescent he was in turn taken with the same sickness. After he had become much reduced by the ravages of the disease, a car was chartered for the purpose of conveying him to Paris, but on the way there he died. The father was cabled for and made all possible haste, but was too late, his dearly loved son passing away before he could reach him; and all that remained for him was to accompany his stricken wife and children as they conveyed the precious remains to their resting place at home. This loss was to Mr. Hostetter the saddest and most heavy affliction of his life.

The above but briefly outlines the useful and busy life that has been lived by the subject of this sketch; and those things of detail that illustrate and bring out in living colors the real points of character and genius that are within a man of note are of necessity omitted because of the limited space at command. Those who, as strangers, look upon David Hostetter, see a man of brain and will power, and instinctively

accord to him the possession of a high order of faculties. Acquaintance serves to strengthen this impression, and the quietness and control in which he carries himself suggest a reserve power of intellect and courage that is vouchsafed to few men. He has been a tireless worker and close thinker, and the success he has won has had within it no form of accident. As a business man and financier he stands in the front rank of this country. The linking of his name with an enterprise stamps it as an honorable and honest undertaking, to which success is practically assured. His personal and business reputation is of the highest possible character, and he is admired and respected wherever known. His great wealth is never used to the harm of anyone, but all his investments have been of aid to the public while benefiting himself. He has, in various ways, held great power for good or harm, and has always used it for the good of his fellow-man. He has held himself always to a quiet line of private life, and has never sought office nor listened to any approaches that would lead him in that direction. He is a Republican and a believer in a protective tariff, has always taken a deep interest in public questions, and is well posted on all the current topics of the day.

CHARLES ELWOOD WARREN.

THE EXPEDITION OF GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

AN account of the campaign of the then Colonel George Rogers Clark, in 1778, which resulted in the capture of Fort Gage and Kaskaskia, was written the following year by himself. It has been repeated, with additional facts and items, as they have been ascertained, in histories of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois and the Northwest. The careful hands of Dillon, Monette and Butler have guided the pens which deftly described this important event. The reason, therefore, for telling this "twice told tale" over again, unless some new and interesting facts have been discovered, is difficult to perceive. When the task is undertaken by one who not only has nothing new to offer but is evidently unacquainted with the old and familiar facts, the wonder is why it should be permitted to occupy so much space as it does in the June number of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY. In order that the misstatements and omissions in this paper shall not be perpetuated and continue to mislead the student of history, it is better that they should be corrected at once.

It is asserted, for instance, that Kaskaskia "was settled by French explorers" in 1683. Here are two errors. It was first occupied as the missionary headquarters of Father Marest, a priest,

and not an explorer. There is not the slightest evidence that any of the early explorers of that day, Joliet, La Salle, Tonty or any other, ever saw the place. The date given, although generally received to be the correct one twenty or thirty years ago, has long since been shown to be erroneous. There was no settlement at Kaskaskia prior to 1700. The mission of the Immaculate Conception, it is true, was established at an Indian village of that name as early as 1683, but *that* was on the Illinois river, where it remained until the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians was removed farther south, in 1700, under Father Marest. (See journal of Father Gravier in 'Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi,' by Shea. Also an article in volume vi, page 161, of the Magazine of American History, by E. T. Mason).

Second: The statement that this ancient village was the capital of the country (not county) of Illinois, or upper Louisiana, is also erroneous. Fort Chartres, fifteen miles above Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi river, was the capital of the country during the French domination, from 1718 until its transfer to the English in 1765, and it so continued until 1772. (See Reynolds' 'History of Illinois'; Dillon's, 'Indiana,' etc.)

The authority for the statement that

Kaskaskia at this time contained two hundred and fifty houses, is the report, to that effect, of some of Colonel Clark's troops, and is, therefore, a pardonable error. It is, nevertheless, not sustained by the facts. It was an older town than New Orleans, Pittsburgh or St. Louis, and probably the largest any of these soldiers had ever seen. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should magnify its proportions.

Captain Pittman, who visited the place in 1766, and made a careful estimate of what he saw there, says that the town contained but eighty houses at that time, and a population of "sixty-five families, besides merchants and other casual people and slaves." A report to congress places the number of inhabitants in 1776 at eighty families. It is well known that from the period of the English occupation the population of the town decreased, many of the inhabitants having removed to St. Genevieve and St. Louis, on the west side of the Mississippi. It probably never did, in its best days, contain as many as two hundred houses, or a population of over one thousand white persons.

Third. A glance at almost any common map of the country ought to have prevented the repetition of the statement that Vincennes "is one hundred and fifty miles above the mouth of the Wabash;" it is not fifty. And the other estimate of the distance from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, "two hundred and fifty miles," is also incorrect; it is not one hundred and fifty. Major Bowman, in his journal, records that they marched to within twenty-one miles of Vincennes in

six days. Could they have done that in such weather, without roads, if it had been two hundred and fifty miles? There were two routes from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. Clark took the most direct, and with the recollection of the hardships of his expedition full upon him, he, in his journal, only estimated the distance at two hundred and forty miles.

But it may be remarked that these are rather unimportant errors. True, but if an author is careless and inaccurate in regard to small matters, will not his statements relating to more important events be taken with many degrees of allowance, and would not the reader be justified in so doing?

The effect of an historical mistatement, and its influence upon others, is well illustrated in this particular instance. Nearly all of the errors here corrected are copied from a work entitled 'Colonel George Rogers Clark's Sketch of the Campaign in Illinois,' published in Cincinnati by Robert Clarke & Co. in 1869. Is it not time that they should be corrected?

Fourthly. Arriving in sight of Kaskaskia, it is stated in the veritable paper under consideration that "only the river flowed between them and the fort of which they hoped soon to take possession." But the river did *not* flow between the colonel and the fort. Fort Gage was on the left or eastern side of the river, which "flowed" between it and the village. And so was Colonel Clark. Now it might not make much difference to any one at the present time to place the great Cæsar on the

wrong side of the Rubicon, so far off, and which he crossed so long ago, but to place Washington on the wrong side of the Delaware, or Colonel George Rogers Clark on the wrong side of the Kaskaskia, will hardly be permitted without objection and complaint. It is true that the colonel states the fact of crossing the river and of dividing his little army, and does not relate the order of his action. The "farm house" was the ferry house, and the order of events was to send part of his force across the river to take the town, while he with the remainder turned back three-fourths of a mile and "broke into the fort."

The next statement that "the garrison was well prepared for resistance," is hardly justified by the facts. In the first place there was no garrison to speak of there. None was apparently needed. The Indians in that locality were on the side of the British in the pending struggle, and, to make sure of the French, one of their own number, Monsieur Rocheblave, had been placed in command of the town and fort. The same thing was true of St. Vincent. Not only the English garrison had been withdrawn from that place, but the English governor, Hamilton, had left also.

But "well prepared for resistance?" Let us see. The postern gate of the fort was found open, and a friendly American on guard ready to admit the colonel and his troops, conducted them to the bed-chamber of the gallant commander, where he was found peacefully sleeping with his wife. (See Reynolds'

'History Illinois,' *et als.*) So sound was his sleep that the celebrated Simon Kenton, who led the "storming" party, had to tap him on the shoulder to awaken him, and that was all the force used on that occasion. The "suddenness of the attack" did not, it seems, cut much of a figure after all—it might have been slower and just as successful. In fact, neither in this attack on the fort or on the town, was there a gun fired or a man hurt.

The name and fame of the hero, Clark, do not depend upon inflated or exaggerated statements. They rest upon secure grounds and well established facts. Only one line is given by the author now under review to the most valuable and effective work accomplished by Colonel Clark as the result of this well-planned and successfully executed campaign, and that is his efforts "to make friends of the Indians around Kaskaskia." The truth is, that he invited and held repeated conferences with representatives from all the principal tribes of the country, explained to them the causes of the American Revolution, and so adroitly managed his side of the case as to conciliate and attach to the American cause, by treaties then made, the Piankashaw, Miami, Kickapoo, Kaskaskia and Peoria tribes of Indians and branches of some others. It was these Indians that had made frequent raids upon settlements in Kentucky, and the primary object of this expedition was to stop their source of supplies and "set back fires against them."

In regard to the capture of Vincennes,

important facts throwing light and bearing directly upon that campaign are either suppressed or ignored. The knowledge which Colonel Clark had of the condition or situation of the fort at that place, obtained through information received from Colonel Vigo, sent there for that purpose, enabled him to act intelligently and to know precisely what he would have to contend against. This fact is not mentioned. Nor does the actual number of the troops composing the garrison anywhere appear therein. On the contrary, the reader is led to an entirely erroneous conclusion by the statement, on page 149, that "while the forces (under Clark) numbered but one hundred and seventy men (which is correct), the enemy against whom they were marching outnumbered

them four to one." The fact, which ought very easily to have been ascertained, was that the entire garrison consisted of but seventy-nine men—just one short of what it was reported to be by Colonel Vigo before Colonel Clark set out. But, while other objections might be raised, enough, certainly, has been already shown to justify an adverse opinion in regard to this manner of making history. We look for *facts* in history, not merely fine writing or romancing. And it is to be hoped that, in view of the corrections herein made, compilers of this kind in the future will be induced to exercise greater research, and examine their authorities with greater care and watchfulness.

JOHN MOSES.

THE CITY OF THE STRAITS.

IV.

FOR thirteen years after the collapse of Pontiac's final effort to crush the English in America, Detroit enjoyed comparative immunity from the shocks and alarms that disturbed the Atlantic colonies. Events were thickening in the east, where the sturdy, independent colonists were growing restive under the impolitic and unjust exactions of a Tory government in the mother country, but one may well believe that Detroit caught but little of the rising spirit of the times. The conditions which alone could have created a longing to partici-

pate in the stirring events now being enacted under the guns of the British men-of-war and in the presence of red-coat regiments, did not here exist. From the very beginning of her history up to the present, and until a later period, the government of the town was as despotic as military rule itself, her situation as isolated, and in many respects her interests and impulses and municipal regulations similar to those that have up to this time environed the inhabitants of Sitka, Alaska. The population was largely French, whose sym-

pathy with the disaffected English colonists in the east was remote, and the garrison was loyal to the crown. Any latent aspirations for greater liberty were choked and smothered under a system of commercial, industrial and military tyranny as repressive as that which Cadillac in the very nature of things was compelled to inaugurate three-quarters of a century before, but for which there was no longer a necessity or excuse. The use and tenure of land, which might well have been free, were oppressive in terms; a fee was wrung from every transaction of barter or sale; the cutting of timber, limitless in quantity, was as jealously guarded and a share in kind for fuel or strengthening the stockade as rigidly exacted as stumpage was a century later. The burden of taxation, liquidated in labor, military service, or in the products of the farm, forest or stream, was oppressive, and its system inquisitorial. There was no law except the will of the commandant, and justice depended upon his judgment and caprice. That the people desired some more civil form of procedure is shown by the good-natured efforts of some of the clever gentlemen who presided over the affairs of the town to gratify them. These efforts would appear farcical were the results in some cases not so serious. Captain Turnbull was in command in 1767, and he commissioned one Philip Dejean to officiate as justice of the peace. As there was no code, or revised statutes, or session laws, Dejean was necessarily a law unto himself, and it does not appear that modesty in the assumption of powers was one of his

infirmitiess. He gradually enlarged his own jurisdiction until its scope exceeded that of the circuit courts of the present time; and it is to this day uncertain where it would have ended if he had not got into trouble by incautiously hanging three or four persons without benefit of jury or clergy. There was not the remotest semblance to any legislative body in the colony, or any authority within five hundred miles to which an appeal might be taken. It is not to be wondered at that, under these commercial, industrial and judicial conditions, the colony did not grow and was not instinct with the "spirit of '76," which was soon to revolutionize the continent. It had no power of self-expansion, and the natural spirit and enterprise of the people were dead—stifled by martial law, operating through a long period of time. The Quebec act of 1774 provided for a civil government for the province of Quebec, which included Detroit, through a council of seventeen to twenty-three persons, to be appointed by the king. Detroit never derived any benefit from it, however, the old system continuing in force. During this period (1770-1774) Hector T. Cramahé was president of this council and lieutenant-governor, but the commander of the post was as autocratic as ever.

The county of Kent, in which Detroit was located, extended as far north as Hudson's bay, and as far west as the Mississippi river. In 1773, Philip Dejean, the justice of the peace above referred to, prepared a census of the town, which shows that there were then living within its limits 758 persons above the

age of ten years, 524 children under ten, and 85 slaves, the soldiers in the fort, doubtless few in number, not being included. In the enumeration are included 473 oxen, 609 cows, 412 heifers, 628 sheep, 1,067 hogs, 280 houses, 157 barns, and 2,602 acres of land under cultivation. Such a settlement, surrounded by such natural advantages, would develop very rapidly in these times under a free system of government; but this essential element of growth was destined to be denied the colony for nearly forty years longer. It was not, indeed, until after the war of 1812 that the territory was granted a system of anything like responsible government. These considerations will suggest the causes which led this part of what is now the federal union to play so passive a part as it did in the Revolutionary War. It contributed practically nothing to the success of the Revolution. This passivity applied, however, to its native white population only. From this point numerous expeditions of soldiers and Indians were fitted out and dispatched to make war upon the patriots who were engaged in what at times seemed a hopeless struggle for independence. This was the distributing point for the British gold and gewgaws and rum that inspired the fiendish warfare of the aborigines upon the settlers of Ohio and Kentucky. From this point the three renegade Girty brothers were dispatched on more than one devilish errand. Here prisoners were brought and tortured to death in the oak openings of Springwells or on the river banks of Hamtramck, just out of sight and hearing of the officers of

the fort, whom it is charitable to suppose would have interfered had the deviltry been practiced within range of their observation. Here were held the councils of war between the British officers and diplomats and the savage chieftains. There was a sort of poetic justice, therefore, in the fact that this territory had to undergo a probation of fourteen years after the close of the Revolutionary War before becoming *de facto* a part of the United States. The British held on to it in spite of the treaties of 1782 and 1783, until July 11, 1796, when the fort was surrendered to General Hamtramck by Colonel Richard England, in accordance with the Jay treaty. There is no doubt that in the meantime a very strong sentiment had grown up in the town and territory adjoining in favor of the American cause. For that reason the delay was not without its advantages. The inhabitants became United States Americans just as soon as they were ready for it and really desired it. Previous thereto they had been Canadians, submissive to the domination of French royalty and arbitrary governors, and entirely deficient in those characteristics which enabled the English colonists to make good their title to the soil they occupied against the incursions of the Indians, and their title to the name of freemen against the will of the greatest military power on earth.

The strategic importance of the position was early recognized by the American congress and military commanders, and numerous plans were made for its capture. In May, 1778, General McIn-

tosh started from Pittsburgh with an armed force to drive the British out of Michigan, but gave up the attempt before he journeyed one hundred miles on the way. Colonel Brodhead agitated the matter during 1779-80, corresponding with Washington and Jefferson on the subject. Colonel George Rogers Clark organized two expeditions of considerable force, and although he is generally credited with having saved the northwest to the United States by his capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and the person of Governor Hamilton of Detroit, at the latter fort, he never came within menacing distance of his objective point. It was not until after the peace of 1783, and until the increasing hostility of the Indian tribes—whose headquarters were at Springwells, Ecorse and Monguagon—made it absolutely necessary to subdue them that the government took decisive measures to that end. The British, who still held possession of Detroit against the protests of the American government—as they likewise did of Niagara and Oswego, hoping, doubtless, that some of the colonies would in time return to their allegiance—fomented the Indian agitation by representations that the Ohio river and not the lakes was the boundary line, beyond which the colonial authorities had no right to exercise jurisdiction westward. Whatever may have been the validity of this claim—and its examination would open up the whole Indian question, with all its oppression on the one side and resentful cruelty on the other—the motive of the British in making use of it to incite the Indians is

too apparent to need any comment. But before condemning the original owners of all these lands for fighting in their own way for their possessions, it is only fair to take into consideration the fact that their plea was not a new one—that it had been urged with force and eloquence for years—and that they acted upon the advice of Sir John Johnson, Sir Guy Carleton and Joseph Brant, a man of their own blood, their trusted attorneys and counselors, and that back of it lay the principles of eternal justice.

The British commanders at Detroit furnished the Indians with arms and supplies for the incursions continually made upon the settlers in Ohio and Kentucky during the years 1783 to 1796. The post was strongly reinforced in 1787, Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton) visited it in 1788, Benedict Arnold reviewed the garrison in 1790, and the fort was continually strengthened and enlarged. The policy of holding on had proved so successful at Detroit that an enlargement of the idea was attempted in a southerly direction. Fort Miami was built and garrisoned on the Maumee, in territory to which the British had not the shadow of a claim, and which was, therefore, an act of aggression equivalent in itself to a declaration of war. This gave further encouragement to the Indians, as it afforded them a base of supplies nearer the seat of disturbance, and was to them a proof that in affirming the northern boundaryship of the Ohio, the British were acting in good faith. In 1790 the government sent a large force, under General Harmar,

against the Indians. Up to this moment the government appears to have acted on the theory that the British at Detroit were not responsible for, or implicated in the atrocities perpetrated on the Ohio, and very considerately notified them of Harmar's movement, explaining that it was merely to chastise the Indians. When Harmar reached the Miami villages, in October, the Indians were prepared for him and administered a severe defeat to the force under his command. In the following year General St. Clair led an army of fourteen hundred men against the Indians, and, on November 4, he was disastrously defeated, near the headwaters of the Wabash. The government then came to the conclusion that British occupation of the territory on the Detroit was an important factor in the Indian disturbances, and that the Indians must be whipped into submission, even if in performing that task it should become necessary to enforce the American understanding of the treaties of 1782-3, in their application to Detroit. Major-General Wayne was selected to lead the next expedition, and there is every reason to believe that he was directed not to allow any tenderness for British feeling to stand in the way of complete fulfillment of his task. His mission was to drive the Indians out of what is now the state of Ohio, to pursue them to their villages on the Detroit, if necessary to bring them to terms, and to promptly resent any British interference, even if he had to force his way inside the walls of the fort at Detroit to do it. Both the British and Indians had had a taste of

Wayne's valor, and the prestige of his name inspired them with fear.

Colonel England, commander at Detroit, sent all the soldiers, arms and ammunition he could spare to Major Campbell at Fort Miami. Every effort was made by Lieutenant-governor Simcoe of Canada to prepare for the decisive shock that was inevitable. On both sides it was felt that the campaign would settle issues that had long been in abeyance, and the cause of great distress and bloodshed. Wayne met the Indians and defeated them with great slaughter, almost within range of the guns of Fort Miami, on August 20, 1794. Wayne had orders to demolish the fort, but it had been so strengthened that he did not deem it wise to make an attack. He gave Major Campbell notice, however, to leave the country, an order which was not immediately obeyed. This campaign demoralized the Indians and shook their faith in British assurances. They met Wayne in council at Greenville in August, 1795, and concluded a treaty of peace on Wayne's own terms. Among the grants made was a strip six miles wide from the Raisin river to Lake St. Clair, lands at Mackinaw, Bois Blois island, and all title to the posts at Detroit and Mackinaw. While these events were transpiring, Jay was making vigorous efforts to bring the matters in dispute with Great Britain to a peaceable conclusion, and the result was a treaty which stipulated that, on the first day of June, 1796, the British should withdraw from Detroit and all other posts within the limits of the United States. The frontier thus established west of

Montreal was natural and geographical, and in the course of time that part of Canada now included in the state of Michigan became Americanized as completely as any other part of the Union. It is to this day, however, a favorite section of "the states" in the estimation of Canadians, as shown by the fact that about ten per cent. of the population of Detroit is Canadian born—saying nothing about those of Canadian descent.

Arrangements were not completed on the date named above for the surrender of the post, but on July 11, 1796, the red-coats under command of Colonel England marched out and crossed the river to Sandwich, the militia—sixty-five strong, under command of Captain Moses Porter, detached for that purpose by General Hamtramck—marched in, the stars and stripes were hoisted for the first time on the flagstaff of the fort, and Michigan became American territory *de facto*, as it had been *de jure* for thirteen years.

Fourteen years from the treaty of 1783 to the surrender of Detroit! All the important events of that period in America—important as compared with what would be considered notable in our own time—could be related in a very small book. Two years from the beginning of Wayne's campaign to its logical conclusion! Time must have moved with leaden feet in those days, or the milestones which marked its passage—the events which historians have been at such pains to chronicle—were at surprisingly long distances apart. All that transpired during that time might easily have been compressed into the

period of a year in these days of railroads, steamboats and telegraphs.

General Hamtramck's name has been perpetuated in the annals of this section by giving his name to a township which is one of the suburbs of the city. A larger place in history was due to General Wayne, whose brilliant campaign cleared the way for American occupation, and his name was bestowed upon the county of which the metropolis of Michigan is the county seat. The county is not now, territorially, of more importance than others in the state, but the time was when its boundaries embraced as many square miles as the whole of England, Scotland and Ireland. When the county was first organized* by proclamation, on August 15, 1796, it included the whole of the present state of Michigan, heretofore a part of the county of Kent, in the province of Canada, a strip twenty to fifty miles wide, on the west side of Lake Michigan, including the present site of Chicago, and all that part of the states of Ohio and Indiana included within lines drawn from Cleveland to New Philadelphia, Ohio, or thereabouts, and thence running westerly across Ohio and Indiana to Joliet, Illinois, where the line intersected the north and south line of the county on its western side. By the law of May 7, 1800, after the formation of Indiana territory, the county was reduced in size one-half, being then confined substantially to the eastern half of the lower peninsula and that part of Ohio above

*Farmer—'Wayne County: Its Establishment and Boundaries.'

described. The law of July 10, 1800, cut off that part of Ohio east of Sandusky. In April, 1802, all except a narrow strip of Ohio, along what is now the southern boundary of Michigan, was excised from the county map. A year later the boundaries were changed so as to include the whole state, and a strip of Ohio and Indiana a few miles wide. The formation of Michigan territory in 1805 made only a slight change in the county, in the upper peninsula. The law of 1815 effected a radical change, the county being now bounded by a line drawn from White Rock or Sand Beach, on Lake Huron, running southwesterly to Flint, or in that vicinity, thence south to Bryan, Ohio, and east to Lake Erie. A year later, the northern half of the lower and all the upper peninsula were added to the county, although the territory was entirely detached. In 1817 the southern boundary of Wayne county was fixed at the Huron river, to Flat Rock, thence west, where it now is. In 1818 the county was reduced to its present dimensions, with the addition of Washtenaw county. In 1822 territory north of Washtenaw was added on, and in 1826 Wayne county was legislated to its present dimensions. These seemingly eccentric changes were all made with definite purposes in view. They represented the organization of new counties—of Monroe on the south, Washtenaw on the west, Macomb on the north—and the desire of settlers in remote and detached settlements for connection with county organizations when their numbers were insufficient to

organize municipal government for themselves. The territory was filling up. The young men born on the rock-bound farms of New England were seeking homes for themselves on lands more easily tilled. Michigan was beginning to be something more than Detroit—the City of the Straits began to have neighbors, with enterprise and thrift equal if not superior to her own, as her population was now constituted. It was the dawn of the nineteenth century! But the town was to have some stirring experiences before the significance of the era began to be understood.

Detroit was incorporated as a town by the legislature of the Northwest Territory in 1802, and acquired new importance by becoming the political capital of the territory at its organization in 1805. At this time a census was taken which showed five hundred and twenty-five heads of families, indicating a population of about two thousand, a very large proportion of whom were French. Newcomers from the east were arriving, including some of great energy and ability, but who nevertheless were rather coldly received. American ideas in industry and politics were crowding in, and there was a good deal of unpleasant friction. The act of incorporation named trustees to serve until an election could be held, and the first municipal election was held in May, 1803. Elections for territorial delegates had been held in 1798 and 1799. It would be interesting to know just how the French citizens looked upon this political innovation. An election must have been a great novelty to them!

For ten years after the British evacuation the inhabitants of Detroit were not disturbed by Indian alarms. The tribes whose villages had lined the river from Lake St. Clair to its mouth had moved westward in compliance with the terms of the treaty made with Wayne at Greenville, in 1794. They did not come to Detroit in any considerable numbers, and little anxiety was felt on their account. A rumor that Tecumseh was engineering a scheme to combine all the tribes to resist further aggression on the part of Americans was afloat, but not much importance was attached to it. A new stockade was built, and the militia enrolled in companies, but there was no occasion for doing more until the summer of 1810, when it was observed that large bodies of Indians from the west and southwest were visiting the British fort at Malden, opposite Gibraltar. Reports were made that arms, ammunition and supplies of various kinds were being furnished to the savages in large quantities. Governor Hull—the first governor of the territory, and who officiated until October, 1813—sent spies to Malden and obtained confirmation of the rumors. That the Indians should be on visiting terms with

the British rather than the Americans was natural, for the British were no longer entangled in the complications on the frontier, and there was no longer any reason why the Indians should be jealous of them. But these operations at Malden meant something more than an exchange of social courtesies. Tecumseh was rehearsing the role of Pontiac, and the relations between the United States and Great Britain were becoming critical, owing to the assertion of the right of search on the high seas by the latter. Governor Harrison of Indiana territory, was so well convinced that an uprising was imminent that he did not wait for it, but with a body of militia and a few regulars he attacked Tecumseh and his braves at Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, and thoroughly defeated them. The citizens of Detroit greatly feared a visit in force from the savages after this affair, and vainly besought congress for better protection than was afforded by one hundred soldiers, a few militia and a stockade. Winter was coming on, a sufficient protection, while it lasted, from savage incursions. The spring was destined to prepare for them a page in history of surpassing interest to the whole nation.

HENRY A. GRIFFIN.

PIONEER MEDICINE ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

V.

DR. JOHN B. HARMON came to Ohio with his father in 1797, and settled at the Salt Springs in Weathersfield township. He was born in Rupert, Vermont, October 19, 1780. He began the study of medicine with Dr. Jonathan Blackmer of his native town, in 1796. Coming to Ohio, he aided his father in the manufacture of salt from 1800 to 1806. In 1804 Dr. Enoch Leavitt settled in Leavittsburg, and young Harmon resorted to him at intervals for medical instruction. In 1806 he returned to Vermont with his father, and there continued his medical studies under Dr. Blackmer until 1808, when he came to Warren and established himself, remaining there until his death.

As a young man, Dr. Harmon's courage is shown by the following incident, related to us by his son:

"One day he treed a cub, placed his gun at the foot of the tree, and his dog to guard it, and climbing secured the cub. Its cries quickly brought the she bear from the thicket, but the sagacious dog, keeping out of her reach, quickly seized her as she assayed the tree, so at last she retreated and Harmon descended with his cub, and regained his gun, when the bear renewed the attack. Backing off, with the cub on his shoulders and the dog at the heels of the enraged animal, while he held his gun cocked and ready for the shot, he saw her finally give up the pursuit, and he bore the cub home in triumph."

In the war of 1812 Dr. Harmon was

surgeon, and was present at the attack on Fort Mackinaw in 1813.

At the close of the war Dr. Harmon resumed his practice in Warren, and his ride took him over long distances. One night while crossing Mosquito creek his horse broke through the ice with him, but struggling through it reached the other shore. Riding some four miles further with clothes frozen to him, he sat by a bedside till morning, and in the same clothes rode home without food. In 1816 he lay out in the woods all night, three miles west of Warren, himself beside a log and his horse chained to a sapling, keeping away the wolves with its heels. Here he lost his watch, but marked the spot so well that he found it the next spring.

It is also related that in riding home one night, having fallen asleep, his horse walked a fourteen inch stringer laid across the Mahoning river at "Wilmot center of the world." Such an experience was enough to make the doctor the lover of good horses which he was, for speed and endurance were necessities in the long distances he had to travel. He enjoyed seeing the speed of a good horse, and was a participant in the races which were held by the Warren Jockey club on the mile track, on John Leavitt's farm, from 1830 to 1836,

himself being owner of some of the fleetest racers.

It is related that in the winter of 1816 Dr. Harmon attended, in Aurora, a family of six children and their parents, all down with the epidemic of typhoid pneumonia. He reached them each night, laid upon the hearth floor, and returned the next day. Upon their recovery he was himself taken sick. He went to the home of his mother, at Salt Springs, hired a trusty nurse and gave directions how to manage him in the bad turns of the disease, with the promise to the nurse of his horse and saddle should he not recover. One night he was thought to be dying—Dr. John W. Seeley was sent for, but he said "Dr. John B. will be all right in the morning," and did not visit him.

The nurse tided him through, but for six months afterward he was so emaciated as to ride with a pillow on his saddle and carried a cold foot, which he had to warm even in warm weather ever after.

Dr. Harmon was married February 26, 1822, to Sarah Dana of Pembrook, New York. He had never seen her, but the engagement was arranged by a mutual friend. He drove on in a double sleigh for his bride, was introduced to her, married, and the next day began his homeward journey. Though consummated in this speedy manner, his wife proved to him a fitting helpmate in every sense.

During his life Dr. Harmon endured several serious injuries and sicknesses, but a remarkable constitution enabled him to accomplish an enormous amount

of professional labor, notwithstanding these disabilities. He stood high as a physician and surgeon among his contemporaries, and performed several remarkable operations. One of these was the removal of several cancerous masses from the under side of the liver in the case of a Mrs. Norton. The patient recovered sufficiently to ride a distance of three miles to Warren. This was in 1822, before the discovery of ether.

Perhaps the most important event in the professional career of Dr. Harmon was a malpractice suit which he sustained for having amputated a badly fractured leg. A suit had been previously successfully prosecuted against Dr. Hawley by Messrs. Wade and Giddings, and they, assisted by Mr. Ranney, were engaged by the prosecution in this suit. The defense was undertaken by David Tod and R. P. Spalding. A second trial was necessary to decide the suit, and in this the jury rendered a unanimous verdict for Dr. Harmon, with very little delay. The case attracted wide attention from the importance of the principle involved and the ability of the legal counsel, and on the part of the medical profession was unanimously considered as an outrageous piece of persecution. The injured leg in question had been seen by Dr. Harmon, and the next day he had called in council the two Seeleys, and it was only after deliberate consideration that the amputation was undertaken. In the trial, depositions were taken in Ohio and the principal medical centres of the east, and a large amount of money was expended.

The elder Dr. Seeley, who was also implicated in the prosecution, but died before the trial, generously directed his heirs to pay the lawyers for the defense. This amounted to about two thirds of the expense of the trial, but the remaining third, incurred in securing depositions, cost Dr. Harmon more than he had ever made in surgery. This suit was in 1838.

In later years Dr. Harmon made friends with Benjamin Wade, who said "if Harmon would forgive him (Wade) for this he would never engage in such a dirty piece of business again." He never was a friend of, nor voted for Giddings afterward, except when the latter was re-elected to congress, after resigning his seat on account of a vote of censure passed upon him for his anti-slavery agitation.

Another, in writing of Dr. Harmon, has said:

He was usually a silent, thoughtful man, but when occasion called, expressed himself fluently and clearly. He was outspoken in all his convictions, and gave his reasons with such force and originality as to command a respectful hearing. While opposing invariably what he thought errors in religion, he yet made firm friends among the most devout of women and the ablest of preachers. From early days until his decease, Presbyterians and Methodists, Baptists and Disciples alike patronized and honored him.

Dr. Harmon gave up active practice in 1854, having after 1849, been aided by his son, Dr. Julian Harmon, who still pursues his profession in Warren.

At the time of his death, in 1858, the *Cleveland Leader* said of him:

"He was skillful and scientific, and met the largest success to which one of his profession can attain.

As a man he was true in all his relations, a faithful husband, kind father, obliging neighbor, steadfast generous friend, and a helper in every good work."

The following sketch of Dr. Peter Allen's life is virtually a compilation of what has been previously written by others:

He was born in Norwich, Connecticut, July 1, 1787. He was the second son of John Allen and Tirzah Morgan, being descended from Samuel Allen who came from England to Massachusetts about 1630. Dr. Allen's father resided on a small farm adjacent to the old town of Norwich, Connecticut. A select school or academy afforded some advantages for study, so that at the age of sixteen, Peter Allen successfully conducted a school in East Haddam, Connecticut. During his nineteenth and twentieth years he had charge of the city or village academy in old Norwich. With a little aid from his father, Peter was enabled to pursue a three years course of medical study under Dr. Phineas Tracy of Norwich, a noted physician of that time. The one hundred dollars which he paid for his tuition was no trifling sum.

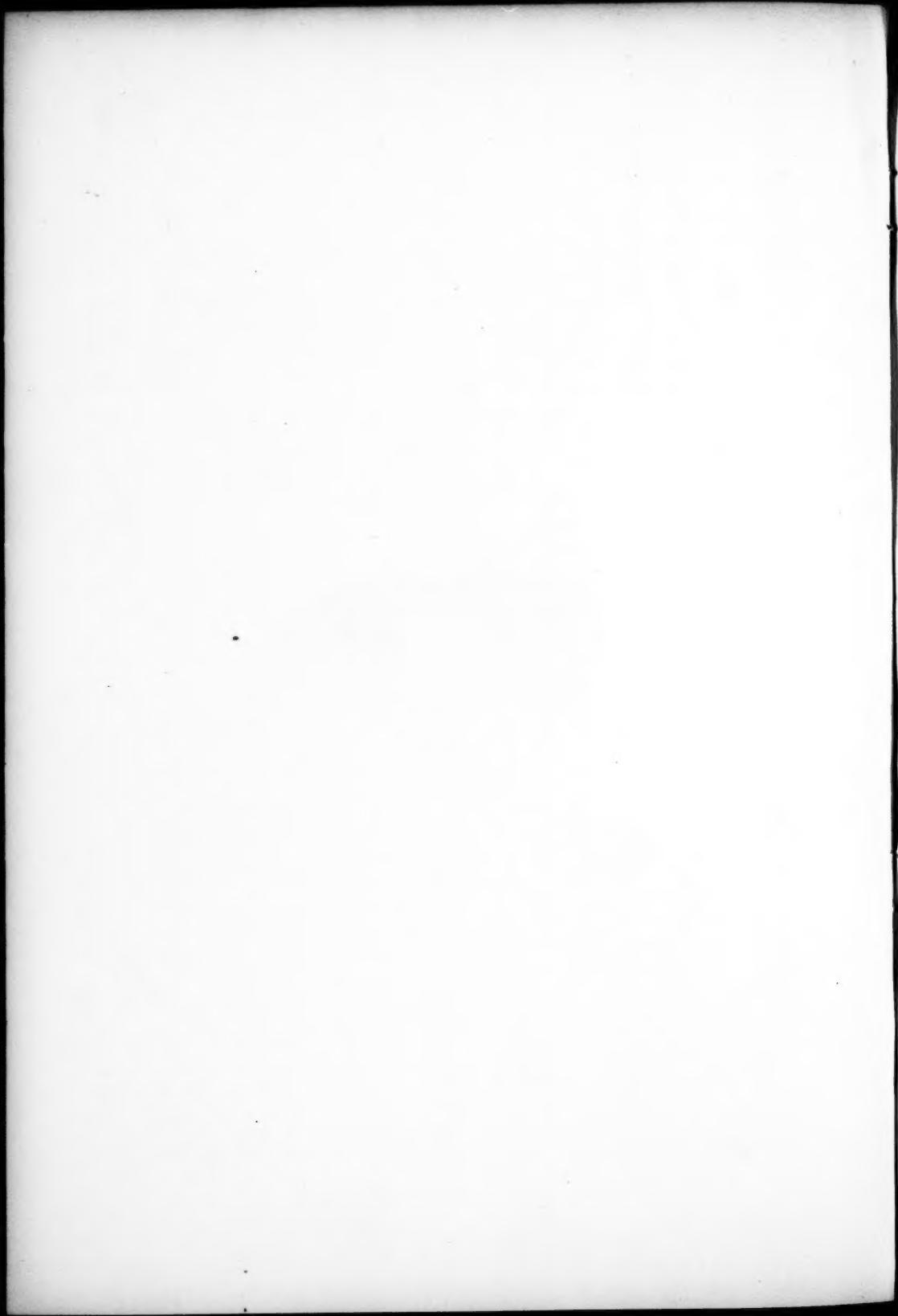
Dr. Allen's father sold his farm and emigrated to Ohio in 1806. His outfit was a long high-ribbed wagon, or prairie schooner as it was called, and a smaller wagon with ox and horse teams. The journey occupied six weeks, being by way of Philadelphia and central Pennsylvania. By teaching and working for his board, Peter Allen maintained himself and continued his studies two years after his father's departure for



Magazine of Western History

Peter Allen

Engraved by E. G. Williams & Son N.Y.



Ohio. He followed in 1808. He had some assistance in buying his horse, instruments and also a few books. These were brought from Connecticut, strapped on his horse. Dr. Allen found his father located on a farm in the southeast part of Kinsman, and here a log office was soon erected for him. During the first winter he taught school in a small log building which stood for years opposite to John Andrew's house, and when called away his school was left in charge of Joseph or John Kinsman. He had arranged to locate in Youngstown, but on account of sickness in several leading families of Kinsman and adjoining towns, he was detained and at length persuaded by his friends to remain. As a mark of appreciation, Esquire Espy, although not a rich man, paid his regular bill and also presented Dr. Allen with fifty dollars. Judge Kinsman was the only person of means in that section. The greater portion of the settlers had to go in debt for their farms. By the greatest economy the settlers could escape want, and with their trusty rifles add to their larders bears, deer or other game.

On his way through Pittsburgh to Ohio, Dr. Allen had purchased a small supply of medicines, and for many years afterward replenished his stock from thence. The first physician in this vicinity, Dr. Amos Wright, had already removed to Talmage, Ohio, and Dr. Jeremiah Wilcox was advanced in years, so that in a short time, in the absence of neighboring physicians, Dr. Allen rode over a large territory, which included the towns of Johnston, Mecca, Green, New Lyme, Gustavus, Wayne,

Andover, Vernon and Hartford, all in Ohio, beside Espyville, Hartstown, Jamestown and Greenville, in Pennsylvania. The roads were mostly paths, with the underbrush cut out, or, perhaps, only trees blazed. There were no bridges. The settlers lived in small clearings, their log cabins having rough floors made of split logs, called punch-eons. Many chimneys were made of sticks laid up in mud with stone hearths, and stones set up against the logs nearest the fire to protect the wood from burning. The physicians nearest Dr. Allen were Drs. Cossett and McGoffin in Mercer, and Wilson in Meadville, Pennsylvania; and in Ohio, Drs. Dutton and Manning in Youngstown, Dr. Seeley in Howland, Harmon in Warren, and Hawley in Austinburg. On the west was the Bloomfield swamp, so that to reach Bloomfield or Mesopotamia it was necessary to ride by way of Warren, or go on foot through the swamp, this being impassable for horses.

In the winter and wet seasons all roads were often so bad that it was necessary to go on foot, crossing streams on logs or in canoes. In fording streams on horseback, the clothing would sometimes become perfectly saturated, but fortunately the woods offered the traveler some protection from the cold winds. Poor meals or none at all, little sleep for many nights in succession, and fatigue were among the hardships. One dark night, Dr. Allen had a valuable horse fatally wounded in the abdomen by the breaking of a stick upon which it stepped. The difficulties of night travel were extreme. At another time, Mr.

Skinner started to go from the northeast corner of Johnston to Kinsman for Dr. Allen. The path was marked by blazed trees. After a time Mr. Skinner's light went out. Too much in haste to return, he tried to grope his way. Failing in this and recollecting that Sugar creek ran northeast, he tied his horse to a sapling, and going into the bed of the creek, followed it down near to the Pymatuning, where he found a road in Kinsman which took him to Dr. Allen's house. On his return to Johnston, he piloted Dr. Allen by a lighted torch made from the bark of a "shag bark" hickory. Frequently the messengers who came at night thus lighted a torch and piloted the doctor away. As was the case with most of the men of his day, Dr. Allen never had the privilege of attending medical lectures, and but little opportunity for dissection, but a careful study of books and plates on anatomy gave him the assurance for a surgeon.

In the war of 1812, Dr. Allen was surgeon in Colonel Hayes' regiment, Simon Perkins being brigadier-general, and Wadsworth, major-general. His appointment as surgeon was the first made to the army on the northern frontier of the state. Dr. Goodwin of Burton was his assistant surgeon.

The fear of an invasion of Ohio by the British and Indians caused a sudden demand for the militia to march to the region of Sandusky. Some of the soldiers saw fighting, but most of them only had to contend with the malaria of the swamps. Dr. Allen, after a few months of duty, was brought home on account

of sickness. As the regiment was hurried away from home Dr. Allen provided some medicines and instruments for immediate use. The late Joseph Perkins recalled a story of his father, General Perkins, that when passing through Cleveland to the northwest, Dr. Allen wished to secure a set of surgical instruments which belonged to the government and was in possession of the government officials. Failing in this he appealed to General Perkins, who thereupon sent a squad of men which, regardless of law, seized the instruments and delivered them to the doctor. Being in the volunteer service and having his effects in camp, the proper red-tape regulations were not complied with, so that Dr. Allen was never recompensed, but the short war experienced was of benefit to him. In his after practice he was enabled to do most of the surgery in his section of country. He performed almost all the operations which commonly are necessary. Fractures of the limbs in great variety, and of the cranium were common occurrences among the men clearing the forests, also severe wounds from their sharp axes. He performed amputations of the arm and leg, and at the shoulder joint; ligation of the femoral artery for aneurism at least twice, operations for strangulated hernia, amputation of tumors of various sorts and tracheotomy, going as far as Ravenna to amputate the leg of Archibald Skinner and to Conneaut to perform tracheotomy on Dr. Fifield. All these operations were accomplished without an anæsthetic.

May 13, 1813, Dr. Allen married

Charity Dudley, who was born in Bethlehem, Connecticut, the same day and year as himself. He brought her to Ohio and settled on the farm where he spent his days. His wife died July 1, 1840, in consequence of having been thrown from a carriage by a runaway horse and so injured that death ensued in a few hours. In 1841 he married Fanny Brewster Starr, a native of Norwich, Connecticut, who died five years later of consumption. Dr. Allen was untiring in attendance on his medical duties, paying little attention to farm or household matters. In 1821 he built a house, still standing, which was very elegant for its day, and cost what was then considered the enormous sum of \$4,000. The builder, Willis Smith, who was noted in his day, built and did the carving on the houses of Billious Kirtland of Poland and P. M. Weddell of Cleveland.

In 1825 Dr. Allen took in partnership his youngest brother, Dr. Francis T. Allen, and then for the first had any leisure to leave home. Medical meetings at this time were held by the physicians of Trumbull and Portage counties conjointly, and he often attended them; and when the State association was founded, he frequently was present. In December, 1827, he went to Columbus to aid in the organization of the State Medical society, when it took him one entire week to go and another to return, the roads being extremely muddy. Speaking of this journey thirty years later, in an address when president of the State Medical society, Dr. Allen says:

Toward the latter part of 1826 some fifteen or twenty horsemen might have been seen wending their weary way through mud and mire along the different roads that centre in the village of Columbus. Their personal appearance somewhat resembled that of a company of men crawling out of a canal, where they had been excavating on a rainy day.

The route was by way of Warren, Ravenna, Akron, Wooster and Loudonville. The attendance on state and county societies was then prized, and to compare notes and ask counsel was esteemed a privilege.

Dr. F. T. Allen, after having remained with his brother, four years, removed to Green, but was still near enough to render occasional assistance.

Dr. Peter Allen's son, Dr. Dudley, a graduate of Western Reserve college and Jefferson Medical college, joined his father in practice in 1837. The latter institution also granted Dr. Peter Allen an honorary degree in 1838. Dr. Allen was induced to join in the Harrison campaign, in 1840, General Harrison having been a favorite among the soldiers of 1812. Dr. Allen served one term in the Ohio house of representatives, but was so thoroughly disgusted with the trifling and dilatory manner in which much of the time was spent by the house, that he wished to dabble in politics no more, and, although it was the custom to go a second term, he declined a reëlection.

Dr. Allen was a constant reader of medical literature, and almost an enthusiast in his profession. He used to warn young physicians against seeking investments or interest in any business which would divert their attention from the profession of medicine. Riding

nearly all his life on horseback, he firmly believed and taught that it was more conducive to health than riding in a carriage. Dr. Allen did not write often, although as president of the county societies, or the Ohio State Medical society, he occasionally delivered an address or read a medical article.

In 1832 he relinquished the active practice of medicine, but continued his interest in the profession. From the first he attended, as censor, the medical college at Willoughby, and later at Cleveland. Then the censors took an active part in the examination of students, and passed upon their qualifications.

Among the obituary notices which appeared at the time of his death, September 1, 1864, the following, written by an old friend, may not be out of place:

He was for nearly a quarter of a century the only physician in the town of Kinsman, and somewhat extensive surrounding country. Possessed of an uncommonly robust constitution and great energy of character, he endured hardships and performed an amount of labor in his profession which in these days of good roads and short rides might seem almost incredible. He stood high in the esteem of medical men, and by them his counsel was much sought in difficult cases both of medicine and surgery. . . . But he will also be remembered as an active and steadfast member of the church of Christ. He was ever present in the house of God on the Sabbath, and in the prayer meeting; active in the Sunday school, and at only the last meeting of the Presbyterian general assembly, at Dayton, Ohio, was one of its lay delegates. He retained his mental and bodily faculties, though advanced in life, and his Christian example shone bright and uninteruptedly.

To the preceding, the work of others, we may add a few lines: The study of medicine was formerly pursued in physicians' offices, and Dr. Allen commonly

had at least two, and sometimes four students, and he was in the habit of superintending their study. He was the first president of the Ohio Medical convention, being elected to that position in 1835. He was again president of the State Medical society, in 1856. As long as he lived he was a constant reader, and was possessed of an unusual memory. Till ten days before his death, at the age of seventy-seven, he was perfectly erect and remarkably vigorous, walking distances of from two to six miles.

Dr. Erastus Cushing, speaking of him, says: "Dr. Allen was as prominent a medical man as there was on the Reserve," and Dr. J. L. Lane writes the same. Dr. Garlick, writing of him, says: "He was well and widely known, a diligent student to the day of his death, and in all respects one of the very best of men." Dr. De Lamater said: "I would rather have Dr. Allen's influence for the Cleveland Medical college than that of any physician in Northern Ohio."

The first physician to settle in Cleveland was David Long.

A letter written by Stanley Griswold, dated May 28, 1809, to be found in a scrap book in the Historical society rooms, says:

I consulted prominent characters, particularly Judge Walworth, who concurs with me in the opinion that Cleveland will be an excellent station for a young physician and cannot remain long unoccupied as such. The calculation is founded more on what is expected than what now is. Even now, indeed, a physician of eminence there would command great practice, from being called to ride over a great extent of country, say fifty miles each way.

After enumerating the qualifications necessary for such a man, sufficient to fit him to be physician to the queen, the letter closes by saying :

A young man of the qualifications described would be almost certain to succeed eventually to his satisfaction; yet, for a short time at first, if not supplied with other means to support himself, he must keep school (for this there is opportunity in winter), or till a piece of ground, or bring on a few goods, or do something else in union with practice.

In June, 1810, Dr. Long came to Cleveland, whether as a result of the foregoing letter we do not know. He was born in Hebron, Washington county, New York, September 29, 1787. He studied medicine with his uncle, Dr. John Long, in Massachusetts, and afterwards graduated in New York City. On his arrival there were no physicians nearer than Painesville, Hudson, Wooster and Monroe. The following letter, written by a life-long friend of Dr. Long, may be of interest:

I well remember all the physicians in Cleveland from the time of the War of 1812 up to about 1835, when they had so increased with the growing population that I was unable to tell who all of them were and what was their profession. Dr. David Long was the first physician that settled in Cleveland. Dr. McIntosh came soon after, and then Dr. Town, who remained in Cleveland a few years and then moved to Hudson. Dr. Long first lived on Water street, near the site of the present lighthouse. He afterwards moved to a log house on the brow of the hill, in the rear of where the American house now is. It was said to have been built by Governor Huntington. At that time, in a building where the northwest corner of the American house now stands, the doctor had a store of dry goods and notions. John P. Walworth was chief manager in the store. Dr. Long had the reputation of being the best surgeon in this section for many years, and as a medical practitioner it was generally conceded there was none better. As the population was scattered in those early days, accidents were infrequent, but sometimes the best surgical skill was needed and

called into requisition. I remember the time, in 1815, when Gains Burke of Newburgh felled a tree which injured him severely. Dr. Long was summoned in haste, but was away from home. On returning, he immediately started for the Burke residence, and upon arriving there, after dark, found Dr. McIntosh and Dr. Dart, a young physician of Newburgh. They had only partially dressed the injuries. Dr. Long, by the light of a candle, then performed the amputation of a limb. I remember of hearing the tree fall and Mr. Burke call for help as distinctly as though it were but yesterday. Though badly mangled by the accident, Mr. Burke's wounds were healed and he outlived the doctors. From our knowledge of the doctor, looking over a period of more than three score years and ten, we remember him as no ordinary man, but as one who always occupied the front ranks in every good work.

As was the case with all early physicians Dr. Long was called upon to meet many hardships and exposures, and he seems to have been a man of much endurance. The incidents of his horse walking the stringer of a bridge over Mill creek and crossing Rocky river after dark have been related already, but many other anecdotes remain.

At the time of Hull's surrender at Detroit there was great anxiety in all the regions west of Cleveland lest there should be an immediate descent of British, but more especially Indians, upon the scattered settlements. Dr. Long brought the news of this surrender from Black River to Cleveland in two hours and fourteen minutes, a distance of twenty-eight miles.

Another ride which he made at midnight one fall was nine miles in fifty-one minutes. In a case of great urgency he rode at another time fourteen and a half miles in fifty minutes by changing horses twice.

In some reminiscences of Deacon

James Sears of Brooklyn we have found the following anecdote:

In 1823 Mr. Sears and Dr. Long went to Sandusky in a one-horse sleigh. It rained all night, and in the morning the snow was gone. They saw but one way to get home, which was to proceed upon the ice. It was a great venture. It was in the month of March, and the ice was of uncertain thickness and soundness. As they proceeded they frequently had to stop to reconnoitre. At one time a heap of broken ice would obstruct, at an other indications of an air-hole would appear.

Once their horse broke through, sinking his fore-legs up to the breast, but succeeded in extricating them at the expense of submerging his hind ones. Being strong in nerve and muscle he regained his place upon the ice, and they pressed forward amid a blinding snow and high wind. When they arrived at Deer creek their horse stopped, and they found a wide crevice in the ice. They dared not venture further into the lake, and there was no "Friendly Inn" on shore. After measuring the crevice with the eye, and calculating the ability of their good steed, they concluded to make the venture, and placing themselves in the sleigh cried "Go." With an Herculean spring the horse just cleared the water and brought them safely over. They proceeded onward with wind and snow pressing and circling round them. Before it was quite dark they had traveled sixty miles, and were entering the mouth of the Cuyahoga.

The story so often told of the first execution in Cleveland, which took place in 1812, has been in some respects incorrectly recorded. The Indian who was hung was named Poccon. He was about twenty-one years old, and was a son of old O'Mick. He was executed for being connected with two other Indians in the murder of two trappers named Buel and Gibbs, near Pipe creek. The story as told by Mrs. Dr. Long is recorded by Colonel Whittlesey in his 'History of Cleveland,' as follows:

All the people of the Western Reserve seemed to be at the execution. I remember several of them

who stayed at our house. Among them was Dr. Allen, who recently died in Trumbull county. Dr. Coleman of Ashtabula, Dr. Johnson of Conneaut, and Dr. Hawley of Austinburg. When O'Mick was swung off the rope broke and they were not sure that he was dead, but there was a storm coming on and he was hurried into the grave near the gallows. The public square was only partly cleared then, and had many stumps and bushes on it. At night the doctors went for the body with the tacit consent of the sheriff. O'Mick was about twenty-one years of age and was very fat and heavy. Dr. Long did not think one man could carry him, but Dr. Allen who was very stout, thought he could. He was put upon Dr. Allen's back, who soon fell over a stump and O'Mick on top of him. The doctors dared not laugh aloud for fear they might be discovered, but some of them were obliged to lie down on the ground and roll around there before they came to the relief of Dr. Allen.

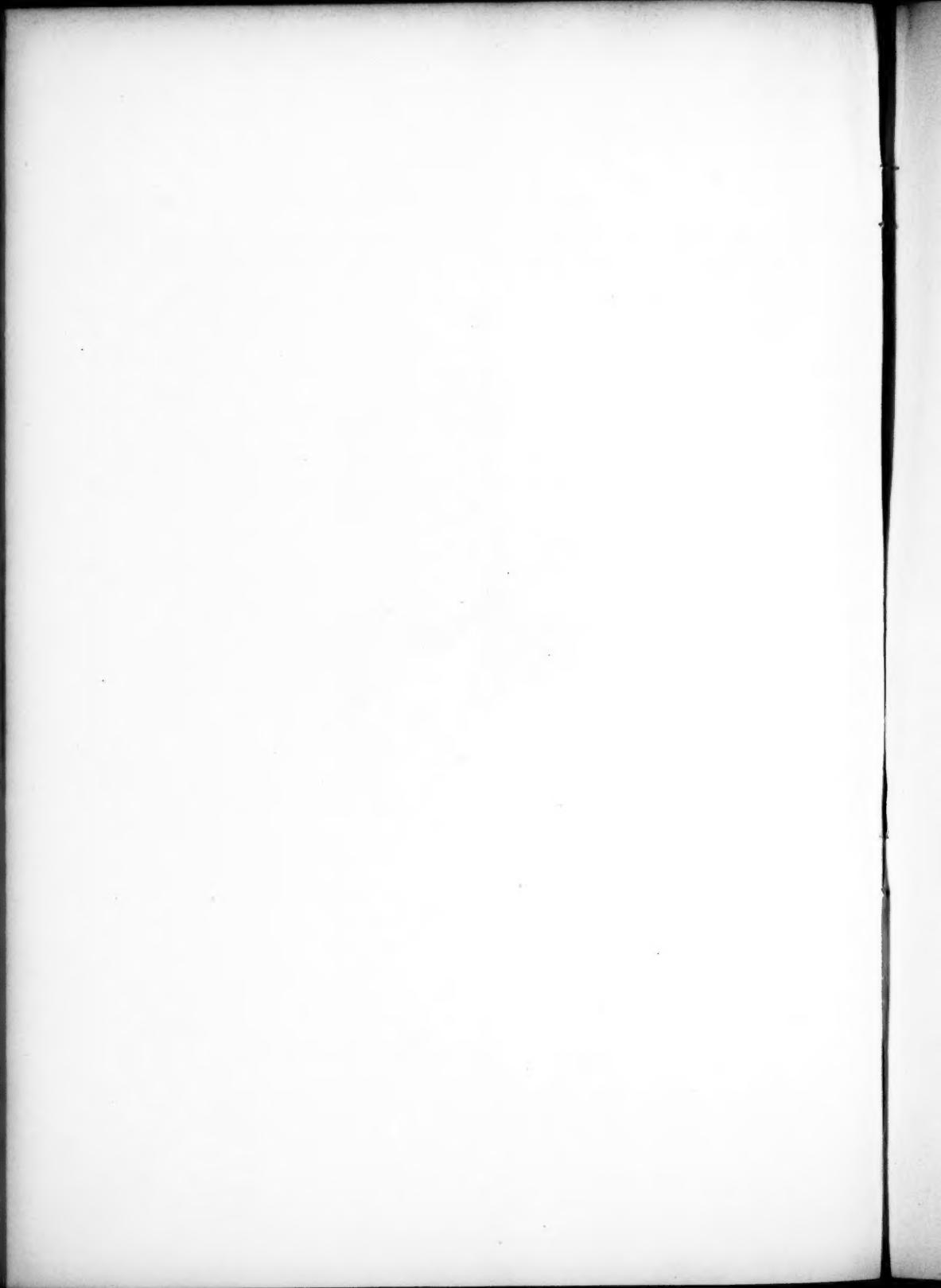
The skeleton was placed below a spring on the bank of the lake east of Water street, and remained there for about one year, after which time it was properly articulated. The skeleton was for a long time in the possession of Dr. Long, but was later in Hudson in the office of Dr. Town. From there it is supposed it was carried to Penn, near Pittsburgh, to Dr. Murray, a son-in-law of Dr. Town. The writer has made every effort to discover its whereabouts and restore the bones to Cleveland, which should be their proper resting place, but all efforts to this end have proved fruitless.

Dr. Long was a public-spirited man and interested in whatever concerned the welfare of the community. He was a successful candidate for the office of county commissioner at a time when the location of the court house greatly excited the interest of the county. One commissioner favored Newburgh and another Cleveland, and the election of



Engraving by E. G. Williams & Sons.

David Long



Dr. Long determined its location in Cleveland. He was engaged in various business enterprises, but a contract for building a section of the canal proved to be an unfortunate business venture, though it was of great importance to the commercial interests of Cleveland.

In 1836 Dr. Long removed from Superior street to a farm on what is now Woodland avenue, but was then called Kinsman road. Here he built first the stone house occupied by the late Erastus Gaylord, and afterward the house still standing on the corner of Woodland and Longwood, in which house he lived till the time of his death, September 1, 1851, at the age of sixty-four years.

In 1811 Dr. Long married Juliana Walworth, daughter of Judge Walworth. She was one of the most able and influential ladies in the community, and the two exercised the freest hospitality. They adopted into their own family many children, giving them a kind home, and they were also active in securing the adoption of orphan chil-

dren into other houses. To show the extent of their charities, a gentleman long and well-known in Cleveland, and a life-long friend of Dr. and Mrs. Long, has said to us:

These two did more charity than all the other residents of the city combined.

Some years since another, in writing of Dr. Long, said:

In the year 1835 Dr. Long united with the Presbyterian church in this city, and by his daily walk and conduct in the community, by his deeds of love and charity to the poor, his kindness to the sick and afflicted, gave the most striking evidence of a heart renewed by grace, and made meet for the kingdom of heaven.

Dr. Erastus Cushing, in speaking of him, says:

His professional abilities were equal and superior to those of anyone till at least 1835. He was highly esteemed by the foremost citizens, and his position in the community and church was an influential one.

The Hon. Harvey Rice has said:

He was a generous and kind man, and a friend to everyone. He was a leading business man, active in the interests of schools, and one whose views were highly respected.

DUDLEY P. ALLEN.

THOMAS HOYNE.

The greatness and power of Chicago comprise the only adequate memorial of the character of the men who built it. In their breadth of mind was found the breadth of its foundations; in their faith was foreshadowed its marvelous future; and in their industry and energy the success of that future was made possible. The development of the half century past can be understood in no better way than to look at this great western mart of to-day, and then to glance into its condition fifty years ago. One feels as though magic must have been at work. There has been—but it was the magic of American pluck and brains and faith wedded to a wonderful opportunity made use of while the east was seeking a direct roadway into the boundless west.

Many of the men through whom Chicago was possible, passed away before the wonders of to-day became apparent. A few are still living, while others were spared to enjoy a share of the fruitage of the later years, and departed when crowned with honors and the love and respect of the new generations that had grown up about them. Of the latter class was the subject of this sketch.

Thomas Hoyne was born in the city of New York, on February 11, 1817.

He attended school until the death of his father, in 1829, and of his mother, in 1830, made it necessary that he should do something for his own support. Under the apprentice system, that was universal in those days, he was placed in the employ of a manufacturer of fancy goods. He continued in this position for some five years, working faithfully and intelligently, and at the same time doing all that lay in his power to improve his mind and to fit himself for something more congenial to his bent of mind and character than the business in which he was employed. He had no means of his own, and no one to whom he could look for help. But the lack of outside resources was made good by the abundant material within. He gave himself to books, marking out a course of study in those branches in which he thought himself the most deficient, and applying himself thereto with the closest thought and attention. His natural trend of character early threw him into the society of young men of like aspirations, and we find him while yet an apprentice a member of a literary association, which numbered in its ranks such men as Horace Greeley, Charles P. Daly, W. B. Maclay, and others who became famous in later years. It was in their

gatherings that the young man discovered in himself the possession of powers of oratory and expression that, coupled with his strength of intellect, would fit him for a successful career at the bar. He renewed his studies with new interest, adding Latin and Greek to the branches he had already in hand. His apprenticeship ended in 1835, and he entered a jobbing house on a salary sufficient to enable him to pursue his studies. In 1836 he was enabled to place his foot on the lower round of the ladder on which he was to mount so high. He began the study of law in the office of Judge Brinkerhoff of New York. He remained there in close and earnest application until the summer of 1837, when he decided to try his fortunes in the then far-distant and little known city of Chicago. The venture was no small one for a young man, while the mere journey itself was a serious undertaking. He left New York on August 11, and it was just one month later when he was landed upon one of the two docks on Chicago river—the passage from Detroit by sailboat alone occupying two weeks of that time.

Mr. Hoyne in future years described with graphic directness and remarkable fidelity the appearance of the little town when first he set foot within it, and I am sorry the description cannot be fully set down within the limits of this sketch. The dock at which he landed was on the north side, adjoining the site of the present Rush street bridge. At that day all the fashionable stores, the leading society people, and the handsomest dwelling houses were on the north side.

The young stranger crossed the river at Dearborn street, where the one bridge of the city was located. His objective point was the court-house, where, in the clerk's office, was to be found George Manierre, deputy clerk, who had been one of his close friends, and who was the only person in the west with whom he had an acquaintance. At this point I cannot refrain from a quotation from Mr. Hoyne's own description above referred to :

As I sped on my way, on foot, with satchel in hand, along the high rank grass of streets newly opened, I was fain to observe the length of the streets laid out without either sidewalk or house. I stood upon that antique bridge. I looked toward the junction of the streams, up to what is now West Water street, and for the first time caught glimpses of that mighty land—the far-off west of my imagination. It had gilded my dreams of the future, and bounded every possibility of my life. I stood upon that antique bridge and recalled Byron's "Bridge or Sighs," but instead of "a prison and a palace," here was a bridge with past and future upon each hand. . . . I reached that corner of Randolph and Clark streets—the open field or court house square—which appeared like an outlying forty-acre tract of this day in some addition or suburb. And here stood boldly out the columned Greek portico of the court-house, or clerk's office, clear pine and white lead, in classical outline. It was as near a sketch of the Parthenon at Athens as a boy's sketch in charcoal would resemble an original. The main front faced upon Clark street. Its broad stairways and double doors led up into a long room fifty feet wide. Here was my old friend, George Manierre, deputy clerk, alone among the papers and records of the clerk's office, of which he seemed sole custodian. We had a joyous meeting.

Fortune favored young Hoyne in this venture into the west, and he found ready employment in the clerk's office with his friend. The small salary he received was enough to keep him, while the chances given for both the theo-

retical and practical study of his profession were of the best character. In 1838 he spent a short period as teacher in one of the public schools of Chicago, and although he soon concluded that the vocation was not exactly to his liking, he has become permanently identified in another way with the school history of Chicago, the "Thomas Hoyne" public school on Illinois street having been named in his honor. In 1838 he resumed his legal studies in the office of Hon. J. Young Scammon, and one year later was admitted to the bar.

He entered almost immediately upon a successful and busy career. In 1840 he was elected city clerk on the Democratic ticket, and filled the position with marked ability and faithfulness. It was while in that position, in 1841, that Mr. Hoyne wrote a memorial to congress, asking for increased appropriations for the improvement of the Chicago harbor, and giving a graphic and interesting picture of the condition of the city, its needs and prospects. In 1842 Mr. Hoyne decided to venture in a new direction, and removed to Galena, where the developing of mining interests promised to make it one of the great cities of the west. In 1844 he returned to Chicago, and made that city his home for the remainder of his life. From 1847 to 1850 he held the position of probate justice of the peace, and at the same time continued the practice of his profession. In 1853 he was appointed United States district attorney for Illinois, and in 1859 was made United States marshal for the northern district of Illinois, in place of a defaulting in-

cumbent. This appointment was made without his knowledge or consent, and it was at the earnest personal request of Judge Drummond that he was induced to accept the office and bring order out of the chaos that reigned therein. It was as marshal that he superintended the taking of the national census of 1860 within the bounds of his official jurisdiction. The next official station to which Mr. Hoyne was called was that of mayor of Chicago, to which he was elected in 1876. He was nominated to that high position by a very large majority, "at a time," to use the language of another, "when the city had suffered so severely from the rule of corruptionists as to be threatened with financial ruin, and the good men of all parties joined in an effort to cleanse the Augean stable. In choosing him as the man for the work, they paid him the highest compliment that can be bestowed upon an American citizen, and it was regarded by him as the best possible approval of his life and character which had been an open book to the people of the city for nearly forty years." Says the Chicago *Alliance* in reference to this event:

There is always a man for every emergency, and in Chicago's hour of need Thomas Hoyne came to the front. Through his efforts the Municipal Reform club was organized, and in a very short time it succeeded in arousing the people to a sense of the dangers which threatened them. The Reform club called a mass meeting of the citizens, in the exposition building. Nearly fifty thousand men of every political faith gathered at that meeting, which resolved to take energetic means to abate the growing evil of municipal misrule. Mr. Hoyne was, at that meeting, nominated for mayor on a reform platform, and in the election that followed was nearly unani-

mously elected to the office. He received a majority of over thirty-three thousand, the largest majority ever given a municipal chief magistrate in Chicago. There were but eight hundred votes cast against him.

The election was contested, on the ground that the call therefor had not been issued by the common council as required by law. That view was sustained by the courts, and the election was declared illegal. Mr. Hoyne refused the further use of his name, and retired to private life after having been *de facto* mayor for six weeks. But he had been in the office long enough to leave his impress deeply thereon. The line of policy marked out in his inaugural has been followed by his successors, with a marked effect on the good of Chicago. The opinion held by the public everywhere of his usefulness in that position was well voiced in the following resolutions adopted by the reform council when about to close its year's work :

Resolved, That to Hon. Thomas Hoyne, our excellent mayor *de facto*, for the month of May last, belongs the credit of starting our municipal reform.

Resolved, That we tender to the Hon. Thomas Hoyne our thanks for the bold and statesmanlike inaugural address delivered before us, and believe that the sentiments therein contained have tended to guide this council in measures of reform; and while we are not able legally to return him a compensation in money for his good advice, we do tender him our sincere thanks as members of the common council.

Leaving for a time the path of official usefulness along which Mr. Hoyne walked with rare sense and deep patriotism for so many years, a glance should be taken at him as a member of a profession he deeply loved, for which he was grandly fitted, and in which he won eminent success. As a lawyer, the

foundations of his career were laid in honesty, faithfulness and deep study. His growth was as steady and marked as that of the city of which he was a part. While yet young he was recognized as the possessor of intense earnestness and an unbending will. Whatever his hands found to do was done with all his might. He won his full share of practice from the start, and his reputation soon spread throughout the state. He was an eloquent, forcible and animated speaker, and had great power with a jury, yet holding himself aloof from any abuse of that power. His great legal strength, however, was found in his perfect preparation before reaching court, and his mastery of all the details of a case with which he was connected. "In the latter part of his life," says one tribute to his memory, "his energies were devoted to work of much more than temporary interest, the value of which is least understood by the world outside, but is recognized by the profession as the most valuable and enduring part of a lawyer's life work." Hon. J. Young Scammon, in speaking in the bar meeting to take proper steps in honor of his memory, made the following estimate of the legal qualities of his deceased friend :

He knew and appreciated the obligations which he assumed on entering the legal profession. Duty to his client was engraved upon his heart. Industry and diligence were displayed in all his acts. He was a prudent counselor, an earnest, enthusiastic and successful advocate. Of integrity unquestioned, he had deep convictions as to the duty every man owes to his profession.

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, the historian, whose 'Life of Lincoln' will always

occupy a high place in American historical literature, said on the same occasion :

For nearly forty years his manly form and eloquent voice have been familiar in all our courts. During all this long period his professional character was without a blemish. No corrupt means ever dimmed the glories of his professional victories.

Mr. Hoyne held a strong and commanding position in the community in a political capacity. He always took a deep interest in the public questions. He read much and thought much, and was ever consistent to his principles. The good of the country was ever foremost in his mind, and that of party a minor consideration, although he was ever loyal to party calls when they did not conflict with higher duties. He advocated the Mexican war; but on the passage of the Wilmot proviso, prohibiting the extension of slavery in any territory gained from Mexico, he became a "free soiler," and in 1848 gave his support to Van Buren and Adams on the Buffalo platform, becoming a presidential elector on that ticket and taking the stump in its aid. In an address prepared at that time by his pen, he protested with the whole soul of an earnest and patriotic man against the further encroachments of human slavery, appealing to the Democratic masses of the state to support that position. In 1857 when the Kansas-Nebraska bill and that for the abolition of the Missouri compromise were presented by Stephen A. Douglas, Mr. Hoyne advocated those measures, believing that their effect would be to restrict slavery rather than extend it. In 1856 he took the stump in favor of Douglas, who was

his personal friend, and for some time traveled from point to point in company with that eminent gentleman. On the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion, Mr. Hoyne sunk all party feelings and stood by the Union cause. He was earnest and helpful in many ways, and no citizen of Chicago was more active in the effort to arouse public sentiment in support and defense of the nation's flag. He spoke often at mass meetings; was a member of the Union defense committee, and wrote the well-known appeal which was addressed by that organization to the people of Illinois. He was one of a committee that urged President Lincoln, in a personal visit, to open a campaign down the Mississippi in 1862. He was a strong and earnest Union man from first to last, and all his power and influence were given in that direction.

Mr. Hoyne was a delegate to the conservative convention held in Philadelphia in 1866. He supported Greeley in 1872, and represented the first Illinois district in the electoral college. In 1870 he was nominated by acclamation to congress, but declined to accept, and Hon. John Wentworth was named in his place. Says one who knew him well:

Active as Mr. Hoyne was in politics, he was never an office-seeker. . . . He naturally took a deep interest in politics as in every movement which concerned the public welfare. But he had no personal motives and sought no personal advancement. He held no office except such as the urgency of his fellow-citizens and his own convictions of duty compelled him to accept. He was frequently urged to take the nomination for congress. His name was regularly mentioned for years at each succeeding convention in his district; and, in 1881, when he could undoubtedly have been elected, he firmly de-

clined. He never for a moment entertained the thought of sacrificing his principles or catering to popular whim for the sake of office; and his innate nobleness was best shown in his ability to refuse that which is the goal of ambition with not a few of those whom the world has delighted to honor.

Mr. Hoyne was a valuable and public-spirited member of society in many other ways, only a passing reference to his numerous avenues of usefulness being possible here. As early as 1850 he was president of the Young Men's association, which was then the leading literary society of the city. It had collected a large library that was free to the use of the public. The association occupied a prominent place in the public mind, and its presidency was a post of no small importance. He was a life member of the Mechanics' institute, the Academy of sciences and the Chicago Historical society. On the founding of the University of Chicago, in 1857, Mr. Hoyne took a deep interest in its fortunes, and was chosen a member of its board of trustees, which position he retained until his death. For a number of years he was president of the board. He worked for its good on all occasions and in many ways, and on the founding of its law department gave five thousand dollars in aid thereof. In recognition of his services in this direction, the trustees, in 1859, established a chair in the faculty under the name of "The Hoyne professorship of international and constitutional law." He was very active in the founding of an astronomical observatory in Chicago, and on the organization of the Astronomical society was elected its secretary, which position he held continuously until 1875. It was

largely through his efforts that the observatory secured the great Lalande prize telescope, which has so materially aided in giving Chicago a foremost place in the world of astronomical research. In acknowledgment of his many services in the observatory's behalf, Mr. Hoyne was made an honorary life director of the Astronomical society. He was a prominent member of the Iroquois club, and that organization, in taking action on his death, said:

Mr. Hoyne was one of the founders of this organization, and was largely instrumental in the achievement of the success which has attended its efforts. He saw in it a means of elevating the tone of party, of disseminating correct principles of government, and of exerting a salutary influence upon the public welfare. His wise counsels, his facile pen, his eloquent voice and his delightful companionship will be sadly missed. His virtues will live in the recollections of his comrades, and the remembrance of what he did will be transmitted to those who will come after us, to be ever held in honored memory.

Among the prominent gentlemen who spoke on that memorial occasion was Hon. Lyman Trumbull, who in the course of his remarks said: "He was true, he was fearless, he was liberal, and the world is better from his having been here." Hon. Carter Harrison, mayor of Chicago, said: "But few men have lived here who will leave a better record than he has left." In the memorial prepared by the Chicago Historical society I find this tribute:

During a residence of over forty years he was an active, useful and exemplary citizen, always fearlessly outspoken in the cause of economy, honesty, liberty, and progress. . . . As an early and ardent advocate of our park system, there may be those who may contest priority with him. But to him belongs the undisputed credit of originating the idea of a continuous line of boulevards around our city.

The board of trustees of the University of Chicago declared that :

He has been the professional right arm of this board as its reliable counselor, and the most faithful and reliable friend of the institution, and sustainer of those called to administer its affairs.

Mr. Hoyne was for twenty-eight years an active and efficient member of the board of trustees of Hahnemann Medical college, and its growth and success were largely due to his labors. Mr. Hoyne was one of the active means by which, after the great fire of 1871, the Free Public Library of Chicago came into being. He presided at the first meeting that was held for its organization, and was chosen president of its first board of directors. He served in that capacity for a number of years, and was unremitting in his efforts to promote the objects of the institution, and establish it on a solid foundation. In 1877 he prepared a history of the library up to that date. In many, many ways he touched on the public life of his home city, and so far as one man's influence can go made it brighter, nobler, and nearer the high standard of his own personal life and thought. I can in no better way close this brief sketch of his life than in quoting from a memorial prepared by those who knew him well, the following references to his personal and home life :

Mr. Hoyne was a man of literary tastes and large information on a variety of subjects. He was a reader of books in wide variety, and thought well upon what he read. He kept well abreast of the literary current. He wrote often and on a great variety of subjects. He was a rapid writer, but generally exerted himself only on the spur of some special occasion. He left behind him a large mass of material, comprising political speeches, literary

addresses, legal reports and arguments, etc. The private life of Mr. Hoyne was one of unexceptional kindness and purity. In all the contests and antagonisms of his professional and political career, the breath of scandal never touched his good name. He was not only above reproach, but above suspicion. In the family he was uniformly mild and unruffled, and in an unusual degree deferential to the opinion and wishes of its members. His wife was to a marked extent his friend and counselor, and he took no important step, political or otherwise, without her full understanding and approval. In fact his love of home was so great that a sigh of regret would escape him on leaving for a brief absence, and he seemed to have a premonition that the end would overtake him when away from the loved ones.

In 1882 Mr. Hoyne, freeing himself for a time from his many labors and responsibilities, made a voyage to Europe, being absent for several months, his wife and two of his daughters accompanying him, and visiting in that time the principal cities of Great Britain and the continent. Professor David Swing was one of his companions during the voyage across, and in an article on the life of Mr. Hoyne he lets the following little ray of light upon the social life of his friend :

His sixty years had been well spent. Labor, poverty, study, exercise, success, wisdom, had all combined in the magical shop of life and had formed a man. The vivacity and feeling of boyhood was never absent for an hour. The heart paid no heed to gray hairs.

It was out of a life of noble usefulness, which had cast much light into the pathway of others and been a guide to the young about him, that Thomas Hoyne was suddenly called, on Friday, July 27, 1883. He had left home the day before, full of health and vigor, and anticipating rare rest and pleasure in the summer vacation before him. He was intending to make the tour of the

St. Lawrence and White mountains, and then proceed to Saratoga. On the evening of Friday, the train on which he was a passenger dashed into a freight car at Carlton station, on the Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg railroad. The train was wrecked, and the lifeless body of Thomas Hoyne was taken from the debris. When the news reached Chicago the grief was general and deep. The beloved remains were received at the depot by a committee of the Iroquois club, and tenderly conveyed to the family residence, at No. 267 Michigan avenue. On the following day the funeral was held in St. Mary's church. All the public offices were closed, as well as many places of business. The officials of Cook county attended his funeral in a body. The common council was represented by a majority of its members. All the directors of the library board were present. Representatives of the bar, and of the many organizations of which Mr. Hoyne had been a member, were present. Seldom has a private citizen in Chicago or elsewhere been attended to the grave by so general an expression of grief, and so many marks of affection and respect. He was laid away to rest in Rosehill, and above all monuments that can be raised in his honor, and beyond all the

words that can be said in his praise, there stands forth in crystalline completeness the lesson of a useful, noble, pure and manly life.

Mr. Hoyne was married, on September 17, 1840, to Leonora, the eldest daughter of Dr. John T. Temple, one of the pioneers of Chicago, a relation to which he was wont to refer as "the foundation of what was the happiest in his life, and a chief factor in the success to which he has attained." Eight children were born to this union, of whom seven are now living. His eldest son, Dr. Temple S. Hoyne, is a professor in the Hahnemann Medical college and one of the leading homeopathic physicians of Chicago; his second son, Thomas M. Hoyne, was for eighteen years associated with him in business under the firm name of Hoyne, Horton & Hoyne, and is still actively engaged in practice. His other sons, James T. Hoyne and Frank G. Hoyne, are also engaged in business in Chicago. His daughters are all living in Chicago, and it was a source of great pleasure to Mr. Hoyne that he still had his children around him, and to him they were ever the same, though some of them had ceased to live under his roof and had become the heads of families of their own.

JUDGE STEVENSON BURKE.

AMONG the stirring, strong and successful professional and business men of the west, Stevenson Burke has won for himself a high and honorable position, and Cleveland is proud to number him among her citizens.

He was born in St. Lawrence county, New York, on November 26, 1826. In 1834 his parents removed to Ohio, and located upon a small farm which they had purchased in North Ridgeville, Lorain county. With the hard farm work and meagre opportunities of those days, the boy had a small chance for an education; but with that tireless will and courage with which he has solved many a larger, yet not more important, problem in these later years, he made the best use of such chances as he had, reading and studying where and when he could, and such was his progress that by the time he was seventeen he was able to take hold of and successfully conduct a district school. He attended a select school at Ridgeville for several terms, and still later a like school at Elyria. In 1846 he was for a short period a student in the Ohio Wesleyan university in Delaware, and it was while in Delaware, in 1846, that he took the first steps toward an entrance into the profession in which he has won such wonderful success. He com-

menced the study of law with Messrs. Powell & Buck, and on returning home completed the course of preparatory study with the Hon. H. D. Clark of Elyria, and was duly admitted to practice on August 11, 1848. He at once earnestly entered upon the practice of the profession, and in a few months after his admission to the bar became a partner of Mr. Clark, his old preceptor. In two or three years he had gained a good practice, which increased so rapidly that by the time he was twenty-six or seven years of age he had altogether the largest and best business of any lawyer in Lorain county, which he held until he went on the bench in 1862, having been in the previous year almost unanimously elected common pleas judge. For nearly ten years preceding that election he was engaged substantially in every case of any consequence in Lorain county, and in many cases in adjoining counties, and was in nearly if not every case taken from his home county to the supreme court during that time. In October, 1866, he was reelected common pleas judge, without opposition, for a term of five years. He held the office two years, and then resigned in January, 1869. Feeling the need of a wider field, Judge Burke came immediately to Cleveland,



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Stevenson Burke,



and entered into law partnership with the Hon. F. T. Backus and E. J. Estep, esq. This connection continued until the death of Mr. Backus in May, 1870, and Messrs. Burke and Estep remained together until 1875. Since that time Judge Burke has followed the practice of law for a considerable period of time in partnership with William B. Sanders, esq., while for the last year or two Judge J. E. Ingersoll has also been a member of the firm.

It is needless to say to the public of Ohio that Judge Burke's practice since coming to Cleveland has been and is very extensive. When he was able to give more time to the profession than he is at present, he was engaged in a large number of the most important cases in Northern Ohio, not confining himself to any one branch of practice, but trying in the different counties of the Western Reserve and elsewhere any and all cases of consequence in which he was retained. Soon after entering practice in Cleveland he became quite largely interested in railroad litigation and business connected with corporations. From 1869 to 1872 much of his time was devoted to the foreclosure of the mortgages upon, and the reorganization of the Atlantic & Great Western railway. That business brought him into contact with many of the leading lawyers of Ohio and New York, and with many of the business men and railway managers of both states named. Among other lawyers Chief Justice Waite, then at the bar, represented the Atlantic & Great Western railroad, while Judge Burke's particular client

in that litigation was the Erie Railway company. A very large part of that business consisted of negotiations, and finally the contending parties submitted the whole contention to Messrs. Waite and Burke, as arbitrators. Several million dollars were involved in the disputes, but the whole matter was finally disposed of and determined to the general satisfaction of the parties interested. In speaking of Judge Burke's practice at this period I have the authority of a number of leading lawyers for the statement that for ten years after his return to the bar and the commencement of his practice in Cleveland, he made as many briefs and argued as many cases in the supreme court of Ohio as any other lawyer in the state.

In 1878 Judge Burke was retained in a series of cases involving very large interests in Utah, and concerning the "Nez Perces" and "Old Telegraph" mining companies. He was compelled to make two journeys to Utah as counsel in the cases, appearing on behalf of the owner of the mine, Mr. L. E. Holden of Cleveland, and with the aid of his associate counsel there succeeded in defeating the claimants in the claims which they had preferred to that very valuable mining property. The business of a lawyer, it may be said in passing, consists so entirely in a series of litigations that it is difficult to say much about them without going into details in each case, and to follow Judge Burke's career in that manner would require a history exceeding magazine limits. It may be said, however, that as a rule he has not taken criminal cases, and has

therefore appeared in but few of that character. Before going on the bench his practice was largely confined to Lorain county, where, of course, there occurred many cases of local interest and importance in which he was engaged. The most noted of them touched so close upon the great struggle that commenced years before the breaking out of the great war, and had so potent an influence in making the abolition sentiment that grew to such heat in Northern Ohio, that more than a passing reference thereto will be of historic interest. The fugitive slave law was then in force, and the judge who presided in the United States circuit court seemed very anxious to enforce that odious statute that was so utterly distasteful to the people of the Western Reserve. This fact, taken in connection with the desire of the United States district attorney to convict, and that the United States jurors selected at that time were especially swift in their convictions, made it almost if not quite impossible to procure acquittal of any man who was accused of aiding or attempting to aid a fugitive slave to escape from his captors. In the case in question, known in history as "the Oberlin rescue case," the alleged slave had escaped from Kentucky and had settled in Oberlin, where he sought to enjoy the fruits of his own labor and escape from the lash of the task-master. The owner, ascertaining his whereabouts, employed four stalwart Kentuckians, armed with the requisite documents, to go to Oberlin and arrest the slave and return him to bondage. For the pur-

pose of getting him safely into their possession a decoy was employed to get him into the country under the pretense of giving him labor. As he was riding alone in a wagon with the decoy, and passing through a ravine, the four men sprang from a clump of bushes in which they had been hiding, seized the negro, handcuffed him, and hurried him off towards the railway station at Wellington. The news of his capture spread through the country, and soon a vast crowd of people congregated at Wellington, and the result was that the colored man was set at liberty. Several of the citizens of Oberlin who were interested in the rescue were indicted and tried under the fugitive slave law. They were ably defended by such men as Franklin T. Backus, Rufus P. Spalding and other eminent advocates, but in every instance the parties accused were convicted and sentenced to fine or to fine and imprisonment. The cases caused a great sensation in the state, and were watched from all parts of the nation. Salmon P. Chase was governor of Ohio at that time, and was in active sympathy with the accused. The supreme court of Ohio upon hearing one of the cases divided in opinion, three against two as to the validity of the law.

Judge Burke had been retained by several of the accused. The time was approaching when they must stand their trial. He saw the utter hopelessness of making a defense in the United States court as it was then organized, and the thought came to him that he could defend his own clients better by convicting the men from Kentucky of kidnap-

ping than in any other way. It was a shrewd thought with a long reach into the future. Accordingly he had the cases brought before the grand jury of Lorain county, and bills of indictment were promptly returned against the men from the south. They were arrested, taken to Lorain county and arrangements made for their trial. This prompt and decided flank movement on the part of Judge Burke opened the eyes of all concerned, and caused the other side to do just what had been intended, as the Kentuckians were about as certain of conviction in abolition Lorain as the men from Lorain were in Cleveland. A discontinuance of all the cases was proposed by the attorneys of the kidnappers, and agreed to by the other side. The Kentuckians went free at Elyria and the Lorain men were taken out of jeopardy in Cleveland.

In recent years Judge Burke has been engaged in a number of cases where large amounts of money and property and many great business interests have been involved. One of the most noted of these grew out of the consolidation of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis railway with the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton railway. This case was argued on one side by Hon. B. H. Bristow of New York, Aaron F. Perry of Cincinnati, and George K. Nash, then attorney-general of Ohio, and several other eminent lawyers were associated with them. Upon the other side the case was argued by Judge Harrison of Columbus, Mr. Glidden of Cincinnati, Judge Ranney of Cleveland, and Judge Burke. The latter had little

chance for preparation for his part therein, and in view of the argument he made on that occasion it seems almost incredible that all the time that was given for such preparation was from seven to twelve o'clock on the night preceding the argument, and such further time as could be secured during the speeches of the other gentlemen. The argument of Judge Burke upon the questions of constitutional and statutory law involved in this case well displayed many of his strong points as a lawyer. It was concise, severely logical and directed to the real questions in issue. The unanimous opinion of those who heard this effort was, that for clean-cut, legal reasoning, effectively delivered, the argument was entitled to take rank with any before or since delivered before the supreme court by Ohio's greatest lawyers.

I cannot refrain from reference here to another great case in which Judge Burke was one of the prime factors, showing as it does his methods of legal work and his manner in the trial of a case. The case attracted wide-spread attention at the time, and was that of Butzman and Mueller, in the supreme court of Ohio, involving the constitutionality of the Scott liquor law. The case was very ably presented by several lawyers, including Mr. McDougal of Cincinnati, Judge Ranney of Cleveland, and Judge West of Bellefontaine, in support of the law; while its unconstitutionality was maintained by Judge Burke, and Messrs. Kittridge and Warrington of Cincinnati. The history of the case has gone on record so recently

that I will not repeat it here, but will merely quote the following from the *Law Bulletin*, published at Columbus and Cincinnati, under date of June, 1884, in relation to Judge Burke's part therein:

The argument of Judge Burke of Cleveland, who represented Dutzman and Mueller in the Cleveland Scott law case, was undoubtedly one of the finest efforts ever heard in the hall of the supreme court, where so many great arguments have been heard by the eminent lawyers who ornamented the bar of Ohio in the last half century. Judge Burke is a member of the law firm of Burke, Ingersoll & Sanders of Cleveland, but spends much of his time in Columbus, at the office of the Hocking Valley Railroad company, of which he is president and one of the chief owners. He is what is called a self-made man, apparently some fifty years of age, and small but robust in stature. He speaks rapidly but with great distinctness, being easily heard throughout the hall of the supreme court, so distinguished for its bad acoustics. There is little merely oratorical and ornamental in his speech, but his language is to the point, and is noted for its clearness, compactness and plain English. His repartee is remarkably quick and sharp. Whenever interrupted by questions and remarks from the court or counsel he was not only found immediately ready, but never failed to turn the point so as to make it a strong one in his favor. It seems certainly bad policy for his adversaries to interrupt him with questions or remarks; from what we hear we would think it much safer for opposing counsel to keep quiet and let him have his say. Listening to his argument on the constitutionality of the clause of the Scott law requiring a written consent of the lessor to the carrying on of the traffic on his premises by the lessee, as being within the constitutional inhibition of license under the definition given to the word license by the supreme court in the Hipp and Frame cases, we considered it almost unanswerable, and were not surprised when the court decided that question in his favor. It would be a great treat for the bar of Cincinnati to hear Judge Burke argue in a great case in one of their courts. He would remind them of George Pugh, whom he in many respects resembles.

It would be of great interest, did space allow, to review others of the important cases in which Judge Burke has

made use of the wonderful mental and legal equipment which he possesses, to the benefit of his clients and the confusion of their opponents. Wonderful success has attended him, and some of his victories have been all the more remarkable as they came in the face of difficulties that might have daunted a less brave or well-balanced man. Among the large cases in which great sums were involved, and to which only a passing reference is possible, may be named the following: that of Kimberly *vs.* Arms, in which a large sum is at stake, and which he recently tried in the United States circuit court for this district; Higgins and Gilbert *vs.* McCrea in the same court, and a very interesting series of cases tried at Indianapolis and Chicago, and soon to be heard in the United States supreme court, connected with the foreclosure of the mortgages upon the Indianapolis & St. Louis railroad; and the obligations of sundry railroad companies, growing out of their guaranty of rent and other obligations to be paid and performed by the Indianapolis & St. Louis Railroad company.

As if the above great labors were not enough to try the brain and strength of one man, Judge Burke has for several years past been one of the most active and successful railway men of the country. His career in that direction would make an absorbing chapter by itself. For many years he has been the general counsel of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis Railway company, and has been since March, 1875, a member of its board of direc-

tors, and four or five years past its vice-president. He has also been the chairman of its financial and executive committee, and has represented as attorney a large amount of stock held abroad. For twelve or fifteen years he has been the general counsel and attorney of the Cleveland & Mahoning Valley Railway company, has been its president since 1880, and for more than ten years has represented, as attorney, the owners of all the stock of the company. He is now, and has been ever since it was reorganized, the vice-president of the Indianapolis & St. Louis Railroad company.

It was not, however, until in June of 1881 that he commenced his first large venture in railroading. Having become largely interested in the coal lands of the Hocking valley, Ohio, he made up his mind that it would be to his advantage to be connected with, and, if possible, control the railroads carrying coal from that vast field. Accordingly, as early as in June of 1881 he had an interview with the president and other parties connected with the Columbus & Hocking Valley, the Ohio & West Virginia and the Columbus & Toledo railroads. That interview resulted in making an appointment for another interview in Judge Burke's office, on June 16. At that time, after spending the whole day in negotiations, Judge Burke wrote a proposition and handed it to the presidents of those three railroads, by which he proposed to purchase for his associates and himself their entire capital stock for about the sum of seven million dollars, and to make payment of that

amount, if the proposition was accepted, within thirty days of the acceptance thereof. The proposition was immediately entertained by the leading stockholders in Columbus, who controlled those different roads, and probably no transaction in railway circles that ever occurred in the capital of the state, created such local interest and excitement as this single purchase. It is not out of place to state in this connection, that when Judge Burke made this offer he had no opportunity of consulting with the gentlemen expected to be associated with him in the purchase, but soon after, when the question was submitted to them, they very readily and cordially approved his action. With the other purchasers' coöperation, Judge Burke proceeded at once to consolidate the three corporations into one, which has since been known as the Columbus, Hocking Valley & Toledo railway company. As is well-known, Judge Burke has been, ever since the organization of that company, actively connected with its management, having been elected vice-president at once upon its consolidation, and having very largely had charge of its financial and business interests from that time to this. At the time of the above purchase, Judge Burke was interested in and president of the Snow Fork & Cleveland coal company, which owned a very large tract of land in the Hocking valley. Soon after the purchase of the railways he and his associates purchased a very large additional tract of coal lands, in all between ten and eleven thousand acres, and organized a corporation now

known as the Hocking Coal & Railway company, the entire stock of which is now held by the Columbus, Hocking Valley & Toledo Railway company. The affairs of this vast corporation have been very prosperous, with the exception of the period of the strike of 1884. That long and persistent contest interfered largely with the revenues of the railway company, but notwithstanding the severe strain put upon it, its resources proved adequate to the occasion. The entire purchase of railway and coal property was much the largest single transaction and purchase at that time in the west, and could only have been engineered to its full fruition of success by one who was a master-hand in financial matters, and who possessed a vision that could see the end of a policy at its beginning.

But still another transaction of moment followed those outlined above. Early in 1885, after the organization of the Ohio Central railroad—a line running from Toledo to the centre of the great Hocking coal field, at Corning, Ohio, with a branch to Columbus—Judge Burke entered into negotiation with the owners of the new stock of that line, as reorganized under the name of the Toledo & Ohio Central railway company, and during the summer completed the exchange of a small percentage of the stock of the Columbus, Hocking Valley & Toledo railway company, for three-quarters of the stock of the new Toledo & Ohio Central railway company, by which his associates and himself, the owners of a controlling interest of the stock of the Columbus, Hocking

Valley & Toledo railway company, became the owners of a controlling interest in the other line, thus uniting in one compact combination the two greatest coal carrying roads in Ohio or in the west. Railroad men of experience, who have watched this brilliant and successful series of events with the greatest interest, say that this last movement of Judge Burke was in many respects the most important and successful of them all. The difficulty of the task he had set himself to do can be appreciated when it is known that there were nearly eight hundred stockholders in the Toledo & Ohio Central company, and that the contracts had to be made with all of them, or nearly all of them, before the arrangements could be completed or control secured.

There has been much of detail in the newspapers touching one of Judge Burke's railroad transactions—the purchase for William H. Vanderbilt of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis road, more commonly known as the "Nickel Plate." The deal was a great one, and made with most consummate skill, but as the story has been fully told recently, only a passing reference thereto need be made here. Suffice it to say, that the purchase was negotiated entirely by Judge Burke, and only three men beside himself had a hint of it before it was completed—Mr. Vanderbilt, General J. H. Devereux and Augustus Schell. The purchase was consummated on the twenty-sixth of October, 1882. The negotiations commenced early in August of that year; the contracts were made in Judge Burke's

name, and so far as the vendors knew the property was purchased for his associates and himself. The entire amount of money entrusted to him and paid out in that transaction was something over seven million dollars. In speaking of this subject, a leading railroad man of Cleveland said :

There have been, up to this time, built in this country three parallel and competing lines of railroad. The New York Central has been paralleled by the New York, West Shore & Buffalo; the Lake Shore was paralleled by the New York, Chicago & St. Louis; the Columbus, Hocking Valley & Toledo was paralleled by the Ohio Central, and it has been Judge Burke's fortune to purchase and absorb two of these new lines—the "Nickel Plate" and the Ohio Central.

Judge Burke has been active in so many directions, and with tireless energy and undaunted courage has accomplished so much that only a passing reference can be made to several of his operations. For many years he represented, as attorney, the owners of three-fourths of the stock of the Shenango & Alleghany Railroad company, and of the Mercer Mining & Manufacturing company, two quite large and important corporations in Pennsylvania. He was also a director in each, and was often offered the choice of all their offices. For ten years past or more he has been a director in the Cincinnati & Springfield Railroad company; for several years was a director of the Dayton & Michigan Railroad company, of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Indianapolis company. He was for several years a director of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad company, which position he resigned in 1885. He has

been for some time, and at present is, a director of the Central Ontario Railway company. He holds the same position in numerous mining and manufacturing companies; and it is probably a fact that Judge Burke has more stock of railroads or of other corporations standing in his name to-day, upon the books of railroads and other corporations, than any other man in the state.

While the foregoing gives some idea of Judge Burke's mental power and his equipment for the battle of life, it does not begin to picture him in full length nor to portray him before the public as he appears to those who know him well and have studied him at short range. One thing that most strongly impresses those who meet him is his wonderful vitality, and the elasticity of his nature. Burdens that would confuse or crush many men seem to lie lightly upon him, and he never confuses the many trains of thought that must in his busy mind be hurrying onward to conclusion and thence into action. While there is not a touch of the bully about him, every line of his face and glance of his eye expresses a courage of the coolest and most daring character, and one need but look at him to see that he holds no half purposes, and is not wont to turn back when his hand is placed to the plow. Those who know him best and have met him in all the forms of practice for years say that his rare success at the bar is due primarily to the fact that nature made him for a lawyer, that he was adapted to that profession, and that from the time he determined to be

a lawyer he made up his mind to succeed, and never indulged himself in anything that would in the least retard or impede his progress in that chosen path. He never used tobacco in any form, nor touched intoxicating liquors under any pretense whatever. He never allowed his clients' interests to be neglected, but sick or well he gave them attention to the full measure of his ability. He devoted himself not only to business but to books and study, and became exceedingly familiar not only with the text-books, but with the reports, and being blessed with a most excellent memory never forgot what he had once learned.

As a lawyer one of Judge Burke's strongest points consists in his power to elicit the truth upon cross-examination of a witness. No evasion will mislead him, and no weak point in the chain of assertion can escape his keen eye. He goes to the centre with each question, and compels the truth to come to the front. It is one of the features of his mind that what legal learning he has acquired from books, whatever he has once learned from any source, becomes a part of him—not merely remembering it, but *knowing* it. It is there, ready for use at any demand. He never loses what he has once gained. Usually a lawyer who goes into other operations to any extent becomes rusty in legal learning, and unfitted for practice at the bar. With Judge Burke this makes no difference. He is as ready to return fully equipped from one to the other as though he had never left his books. This is a remarkable feature in his men-

tal make-up; few men are able to do it. His mind is naturally of a logical turn. In addition to having mastered all the rules of law, he has that logical faculty strengthened by long practice, to apply those rules with wonderful power to the case he may have in hand. In this respect he has no superior at the Ohio bar, and perhaps none in the country.

This fact should also be considered in any discussion of Judge Burke's mental characteristics—that ordinarily a man in whom the logical faculty predominates is not able to master details, while in his case that rule does not hold good. He holds all the details, even of the smallest character, at command. He never loses anything or forgets, and a point that many might overlook is not allowed to escape his glance and examination. While engaged in other great enterprises, Judge Burke, as a lawyer, has kept up with the times, and in the adaptation of the old and standard legal principles to the new and broadened issues that have grown out of the great corporations, inventions and developments of modern days, he has shown most remarkable power. He knows how to hold to the old principles and make them apply to the new questions. He makes no claim to oratory of the imaginative sort, but is powerful with a jury. His clearness of statement, his logic, his forcible presentation of fact and readiness in meeting any point that may be sprung against him, unite in giving him a hold on the respect and judgment of a jury that makes him more effective with them than would any impassioned appeal to

their feelings or sympathies. In the trial of a case no man ever caught him unawares. He is never driven into a corner. Quick in repartee, cool, never flurried, never upset, never taken at a disadvantage, never led astray from the point—he is a power in the court room, and a lawyer with whom only the best can afford to cope.

It is needless to go into any discussion as to his business qualifications. The above account of his labors and of the things he has done casts a flood of light on that point. His railroad operations show the far-seeing vision, the cool courage, the executive ability and the comprehensive mind of a great railroad manager, while his operations in other commercial and business lines supplement his more prominent operations and prove that no element of luck or chance lies beneath them. He is sound, shrewd and cautious as a financier, never taking a step until he sees the way before him, asking no man to risk a dollar where he will not risk his own, and then when once committed to a line of operations his courage is equal to the greatest demand that may be made upon it. He has no trouble in finding support in any operation he may undertake, as he commands the most implicit confidence in those with whom he has to deal.

This sketch would be incomplete in one important subject were nothing said about Judge Burke's career upon the bench. He has been heard to refer to that experience as one of the most gratifying and interesting periods of his life. He loved the bench and the ad-

ministration of justice, and loved and respected the bar that practiced before him. Quick and sharp as he sometimes is in the trial of a case—as Job would have been in the trial of some cases—he always kept his temper while on the bench, and disposed of every case that came before him without the least partiality or prejudice against counsel or parties, and he came as near satisfying the parties in court, probably, as any man could have done or can do. Proof of his great ability as a judge can be found in the fact that it was not an unusual thing for him to hold court term after term, in the counties of his district, without an exception being taken, and but two or three of all the judgments in which he concurred, during his term of seven years upon the bench, were ever reversed. It is indeed a pity that when a man of that character is placed upon the bench the rewards of the position are not enough to keep him there.

Judge Burke has been too busy to give his attention to office-seeking or office-holding, and has never been tempted to enter public life. But he has deep convictions and strong beliefs on all public questions, and when aroused to discuss the measures of the day can do so with a clearness, logic, fairness and resource of information that cause one to regret that the political rostrum has no attractions for him. A scholar and a thinker, his range of knowledge is wide, and in history, literature and general information, as in law, what he learns is learned for good, and ever at his command. Socially he is one of the most approach-

able men in America, and many have grateful cause to know that the young man or the poor man has as ready and welcome access to him as the honored or the rich. Still in the prime of life, strong, capable and ambitious to

make good use of his opportunities, we may expect to see him do even better and more fruitful work in the future than he has in the past.

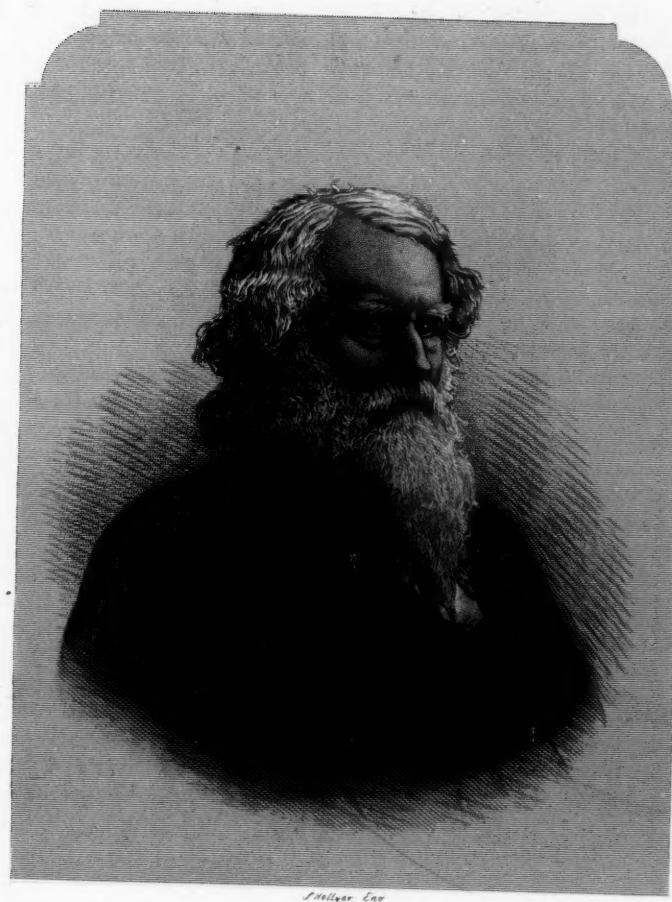
J. H. KENNEDY.

DR. WILLIAM BUSHNELL.

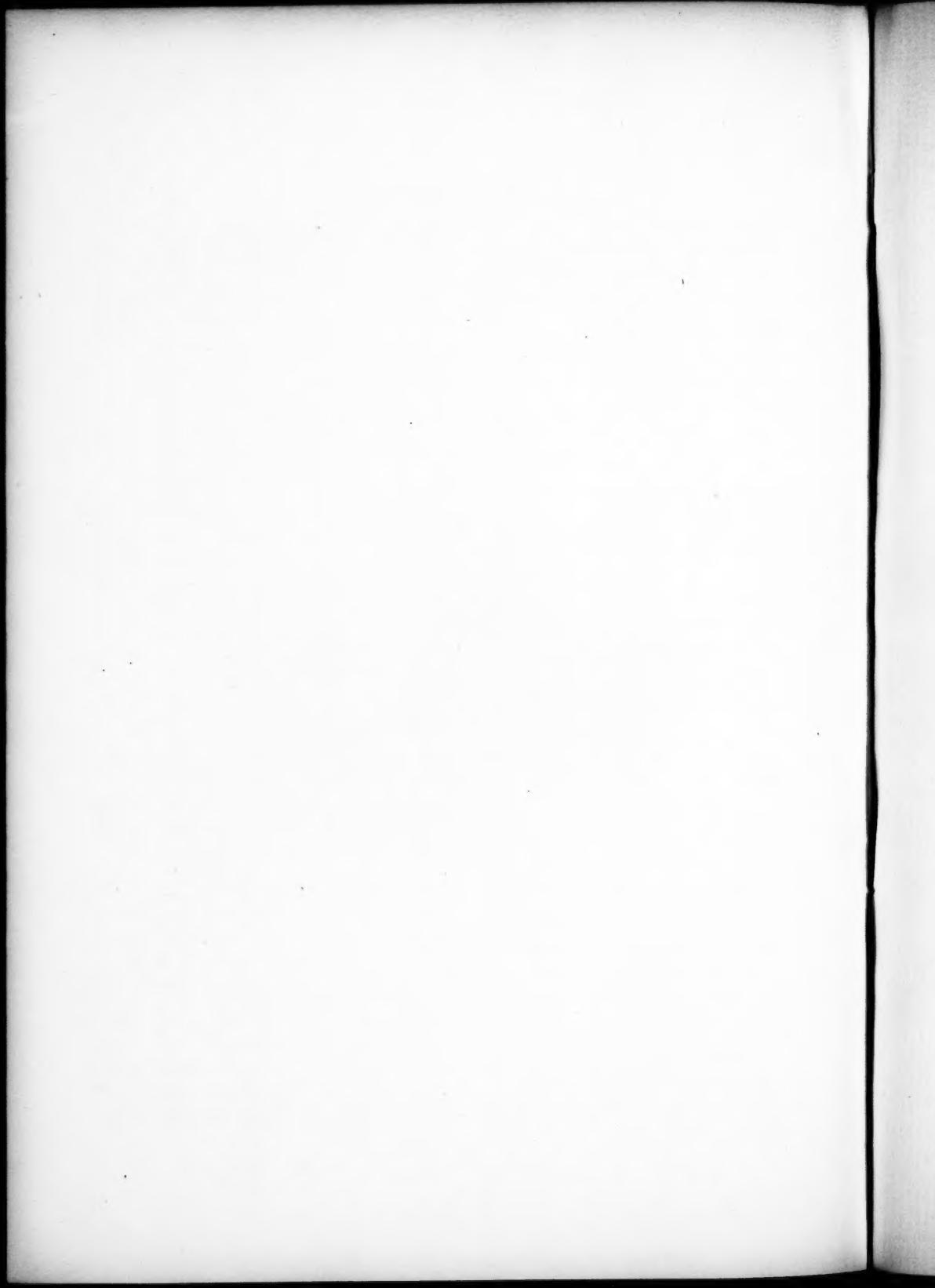
AMONG the pioneers of Ohio yet living is Dr. William Bushnell of Mansfield. The family from which he descends dates back in America to early in the sixteenth century. Some time about that date, Francis Bushnell came to America and located in Guilford, Hartford county, Connecticut; he died in 1646, this record being the first authentic date in possession of the family. Francis left five sons, *to-wit*: Francis, William, John, Richard and Isaac. William, the second son, married and settled in Connecticut, and at his death left four children, the second of whom, Ephraim, also married and continued his residence in Connecticut, rearing a family of seven children. The third child of Ephraim, James, was born March 12, 1716, and about the year 1736 married a Miss Dudley. James was a seafaring man, and soon after his marriage departed on one of his voyages and was never afterward heard from. It is supposed his vessel was lost at sea with all on board. After his departure, his only son, Alexander, was born June 2, 1737. February 12, 1761, Alexander married Miss Chloe Waite, a member of the Waite family of Lyme, Connecticut,

from which descended the present chief-justice of the United States supreme court, Morrison R. Waite of Ohio. Miss Waite was born June 20, 1738, and died October 28, 1832, at the age of ninety-four years. She was the mother of eleven children, the sixth child being Sterling G. Bushnell, father of the subject of this sketch.

Sterling G. Bushnell was born in Hartford county, Connecticut, in 1781; the exact date is not known, as the record is lost. He was a gentleman of scholarly attainments and great force of character, having—in that nest of literary culture, Hartford county—enjoyed advantages of education which were impossible to his children in the wilds of Ohio. He came with his family to Vernon, Trumbull county, Ohio, in 1805, settling on land controlled by the Western Reserve company of Connecticut. Ohio was then a wilderness in the far west, and the farm was to be cleared of timber and a home hewn out of the wildest surroundings. As must be surmised, the school education of Dr. Bushnell was slight and irregular, there being in those early days few educational advantages, the text books being common-



Wm Brewster M.D.



place, inaccurate and crude, and the teachers but slightly educated in advance of the scholars. With this condition in his childhood, it was by study at home, under direction of his parents, that he obtained that knowledge children now-a-days obtain at the public schools; and it was by earnest study under the paternal roof that he laid the foundation of those attainments which have gained for him a position of eminence, not only in his profession but among his fellows in other walks of life. His father, by his superior education, physical and mental force, became a leading man among the pioneers of Trumbull county. He was not only a farmer and the proprietor of an extensive tannery, but was well versed in the law, and was frequently employed by his neighbors in this capacity. He was also frequently elevated to the office of justice of the peace, an office of much more importance in those days than at present, from the fact that nearly all the law was then administered by these officers, and their powers and duties were much more extended. He was also a surveyor, and surveyed parts of the Reserve in the counties of Ashtabula, Medina and Lorain, as well as much of the land in Trumbull.

The family lived in Trumbull county fifteen years, then removed to Vermillion township, Ashland county, Ohio, arriving May 20, 1820. Here in August, 1847, Sterling G. Bushnell died, aged seventy-six years. His wife survived him several years, continuing on the old homestead with her son Thomas. She died at quite an advanced age.

Dr. William Bushnell, the third child, was born in Hartland, Hartford county, Connecticut, September 10, 1800. Coming to Ohio at the age of five years, his boyhood was passed among the hardy pioneers of that heroic period in the history of the state; his free out-door life in the pure air of the great woods and amidst the constant dangers from lurking savages, venomous reptiles and wild animals, instilled into his youthful mind and frame that courage, strength, hardihood and love of freedom which were the necessary foundation for a long, useful and laborious life. At the age of twelve years came the war with Great Britain, bringing additional hardships and dangers. Although too young to engage personally in the conflict as a soldier, he acted his part with a courage and endurance beyond his years. His father was adjutant of the first regiment of Ohio militia. This regiment belonged to the Third brigade, commanded by General Simon Perkins; the brigade was attached to the Fourth division, commanded by General Wadsworth. General Perkins had been sent out by the Connecticut Land company as superintendent for the sale and management of their lands, and had made his residence at Warren. When General Hull surrendered at Detroit, the Ohio militia was immediately ordered out. The wildest rumors ran through the border settlements. It was reported that the victorious British and Indians were advancing from the west in overwhelming numbers, determined to overrun the state of Ohio and drive out and murder the few scattering pioneers.

Forts were erected in every direction along the border, and hasty preparations made for a vigorous defense. General Perkins sent word to Adjutant Bushnell to immediately assemble the First regiment at Burg Hill, a small village in the eastern part of Trumbull county, near the Pennsylvania line. The companies of this regiment had been organized in different parts of Trumbull and the adjoining counties ; they were widely separated. The dangerous and difficult duty of notifying the officers of these companies of the time and place of meeting was delegated by the adjutant to his son, William, then a lad of twelve years. Mounting a horse, and taking the little slips of paper upon which the orders were written, William rode night and day through the almost trackless forest, crossing swollen streams, and scarcely eating and sleeping until his difficult task was accomplished. After the regiment assembled and began its march, it halted at Mr. Bushnell's house for dinner, and William, with a boy's enthusiasm and belief in his powers of endurance, pleaded with his father to be allowed to accompany the regiment to the front. A reluctant consent was given and he marched with the regiment to the vicinity of Cleveland, where it encamped. On the way, the doctor says, the western skies were frequently illuminated by the burning cabins of the settlers, which was convincing evidence of the victorious advance of their savage foes. It appearing that a battle must soon be fought, his father thought best to send him home. William desired to remain and take a hand in the fighting,

but reluctantly returned to his home, going on foot and alone through the wilderness, following the trail of the advancing troops. The division continued on to Camp Avery, on the Huron river. It was while in this camp that Sylvester Beecher, who subsequently married Dr. Bushnell's sister, was arrested as a deserter. The incident is interesting, as showing something of the composition and discipline of the volunteer army of that day. At Camp Avery, Beecher's supply of tobacco failed, and not being able to obtain a legitimate leave of absence he left his company and walked back to Cleveland to obtain a supply of that most necessary article for a soldier. Before he could return his absence was discovered and he was arrested, charged with desertion. When about to be court-martialed under this charge, what is known as the battle of the Peninsula occurred, and Beecher begged to be allowed to go into the battle with his company, promising faithfully to deliver himself up for trial after the battle, if he came out alive. His request was granted and he displayed such courage and faithfulness, both during the engagement and after it was ended, in succoring the wounded, that the matter of court-martial was not subsequently referred to by his commanding officer, and the charge of desertion was erased from the record.

Beecher, after this battle was about at an end, was endeavoring, with a squad of soldiers, to attend to the wants of the wounded, and while thus engaged was attacked by an overwhelming force of savages. Taking refuge in a deserted

cabin, this squad of soldiers remained three days and nights with nothing to eat, all the time surrounded by Indians, who endeavored in vain to set fire to the cabin. The soldiers made port-holes by taking the chink from between the cabin logs, and thus defended themselves. Beecher says at one time an Indian came running swiftly toward the cabin, with a blazing torch in his hand, and when within short range he fired upon him, the bullet striking the torch and covering the savage with fire. This caused him to beat a hasty retreat. The party was finally rescued by the advance of the army.

Dr. Bushnell was personally acquainted with Colonel Croghan, who so bravely defended Fort Stephenson from the assault of the British forces, and recalls this acquaintance with much satisfaction. He says Croghan disobeyed the order of General Harrison, which was to retire from the fort with his command and not attempt a defense against such overwhelming numbers. Croghan, upon receipt of the order, said with an oath that he could and would maintain his position. He was a brave young Irishman, and would much rather have lost his life than have retreated. He succeeded in one of the most desperate encounters of that war. Dr. Bushnell visited the fort soon after the engagement. The cannon balls were lying thickly in the ditches and fort; the timbers, out of which it was mainly constructed, were splintered, torn and scattered about, with many other evidences of battle.

After the war, and while the family

was still residing in Trumbull county, William determined upon the study of medicine, and like some other young men of that period who subsequently attained to high positions, he maintained himself by teaching school while pursuing his studies. At the age of twenty-four he put his little savings in his pocket, and with a change of clothing in a pack, started on foot for Cincinnati to attend lectures at the Ohio Medical college, then the only institution of the kind within reach. He remained here about one year, then went to Louisiana, settling at Point Coupée. Here he taught in an academy about seven months and practiced medicine about one year. Returning to Ohio he located in the then small village of Mansfield, in July, 1828, opening an office for the practice of his profession. Although the village of Mansfield had been in existence twenty years, it was a mere frontier hamlet, surrounded by woods, the settlers few and far between and the streets blockaded by stumps and logs. A fort or block house had been erected in the centre of the village during the war, and was now in use as a courthouse. The practice of medicine in this condition of affairs was exceedingly difficult, disagreeable and dangerous. Distant settlers must be visited and much night riding done over almost impassable roads. The streams were unbridged, and frequently the solitary cabin must be sought out over long reaches of mere bridle paths.

April 5, 1836, Dr. Bushnell married Mary, only daughter of General Robert Bently, a citizen of the county and a

man of much ability and force of character. Of the children by this union, only one is now living—Martin, a resident of Mansfield.

Dr. Bushnell has not been allowed to practice his profession uninterruptedly, however much he desired to do so. His ability and services have been in frequent demand by his fellow-citizens, and he has been compelled to attend to these demands, however detrimental to his practice such duties might be. He has frequently devoted himself to the public business and held several places of trust and responsibility. Many of the internal improvements of the northern portion of the state were either projected and carried forward under his personal supervision, or owe their existence to his energy and influence.

For about eight years he was prominently connected with the Atlantic and Great Western railway, now known as the New York, Lake Erie and Western. The projectors of this road early called upon Dr. Bushnell as one of the leading men in the central portion of the state through which the road must pass. The doctor, as a public-spirited citizen, was certainly anxious that the road should be a success and was induced to lend his aid and influence at first, without, however, much thought of entering personally into its struggle for success. Subsequently, when it was threatened with failure, he partially abandoned his large and remunerative practice, and with his accustomed energy and determination, assisted in placing it on a safe basis. For several years he spent most of his time in personal labor

for the success of the road, securing the right of way, hiring and boarding the hands, collecting and disbursing money, superintending the building of cars, and attending to the printing and negotiation of its bonds. Twice he sent a delegation of men to Europe for the purpose of placing the bonds on the market there, and succeeded in raising the necessary funds by the sale of bonds in London, Paris and Berlin. He was chairman of the finance committee, and upon him devolved most of the labor and responsibility of furnishing the money, which is the bone and sinew of railroad enterprise. The road was finally pushed to completion after a hard struggle, and he continued as one of its directors several years. It is one of the best built roads west of the Alleghanies. Working without compensation himself, and bearing much of the burden of the expenses connected with so great an undertaking, Dr. Bushnell lost a small fortune in this enterprise, but was subsequently, by his connection with railroads, enabled to make up the loss and something more.

In 1849 Dr. Bushnell was elected a member of the Ohio house of representatives. He has always been a staunch Democrat, and living in a Democratic community was subsequently reelected and served several terms in that body. The legislature of 1851, in which he served his second term, was especially marked by the great labor and responsibility imposed on it by the new constitution adopted in that year. A large proportion of the state laws had to undergo a change and many new laws

made to meet the requirements of the new instrument. Probably no legislature of any prior or subsequent period in the history of the state acquitted itself with so much honor, or did so much valuable work for the public good. Dr. Bushnell threw himself into this work with his accustomed energy. He was a member of the committees on education, on penitentiary, on finance and on judiciary. As a member of the committee on education he assisted in formulating and pushing through the Ohio school law, under the requirements of the new constitution. The law was drawn up by the Hon. Harvey Rice of Cleveland. It was much discussed, numerous changes and amendments being offered, but was finally passed nearly as it came from the committee. Subsequent legislatures have attempted to change it, but its harmony remains unimpaired to the present day, and it is considered one of the best laws on the statute books of the state. Under its liberal provisions the public schools of the state have been pushed to the front rank of the schools of the country, and many western states and territories have since substantially adopted it and incorporated it into their laws.

After his term of service in the legislature, he returned to the practice of his profession in Mansfield. After the establishment of the Cleveland Medical college, he was connected with it as a censor for about fifteen years. He is a member of the American Medical association, and also of the Ohio Medical association, and as a physician and surgeon ranks with the most eminent in

the state, his personal skill and judgment being sought in consultations and operations in distant parts of Ohio and adjoining states.

In June, 1878, Dr. Bushnell was appointed by Governor Bishop a delegate from Ohio to the International Congress on prison reform, called by and under the auspices of Sweden, to take place in Stockholm.

Provided by the United States secretary of state with a passport, on the twenty-ninth of June he took passage on the Inman steamer, *City of Chester*, to attend to the duties of his delegation and see something of the old world.

This important meeting at Stockholm has not been thoroughly understood, and therefore not appreciated by the general public. There will come a day in the near future when it will be seen that this meeting was the foundation of a great reform that has since been slowly progressing both in this country and Europe. There were but five delegates from the United States, though each state was entitled to one. Foreign countries were better represented, and delegates to the number of two hundred and five assembled at Stockholm. The proceedings were in French, and there was such a variety of languages spoken that the congress found itself much hampered in the transaction of its business by the difficulty experienced by the members in understanding each other.

The object was to create a sentiment which should ultimately bring about a radical change in the management of prisons and other institutions for crimin-

als throughout the world. The tendency of the discussion was for better treatment of criminals and the total abolition of the hangman's rope, the guillotine, and all instruments of torture or the taking of human life. It was recommended that reformatory institutions be established, where all, except the very much hardened criminals, could receive proper and kind treatment and be educated and encouraged in efforts to enter a higher and better life.

The congress was in session seven or eight days; the proceedings were published and the members separated with the belief that something, at least, had been accomplished toward prison reform. Since that time the fruits of this meeting have been observable in the United States by the organization of prison reform societies and a general interest in the subject among good people and philanthropists throughout this country. There has also been established at Elmira, New York, a reform prison for the education and elevation of the criminal classes, and another has been projected and is already in course of erection in Dr. Bushnell's own city, Mansfield. An appropriation was made last winter by the legislature for beginning this work, and it will undoubtedly be pushed forward to completion in the near future. Thus it will be seen that the International congress at Stockholm was not without permanent results.

After attending to his duties as a delegate, Dr. Bushnell traveled somewhat extensively in Europe, visiting the capitals of the various countries, in-

specting the prisons and studying their management and methods of punishment and discipline. He thinks the prisons of America much in advance of those in Europe, if humane treatment is considered the standard. During his absence of three months duration, the doctor paid his own expenses and received no compensation for his labors.

While at St. Petersburg, Russia, he desired to see the Emperor, and walking to the palace unattended, the same as he would have done to the White House at Washington, sent up the following note: "An American citizen is at your door and desires to see the Czar of all the Russias," adding thereto his name and residence. The messenger soon returned with the reply that the czar was not then in the palace, but was at his stable showing his horses to General Grant, who happened at that time to be also on a visit to St. Petersburg, in his tour around the world; so the doctor left without seeing the great man. He was glad when ready to turn his face westward toward his own country, and thinks, as most Americans do who go abroad, that there is no country like America.

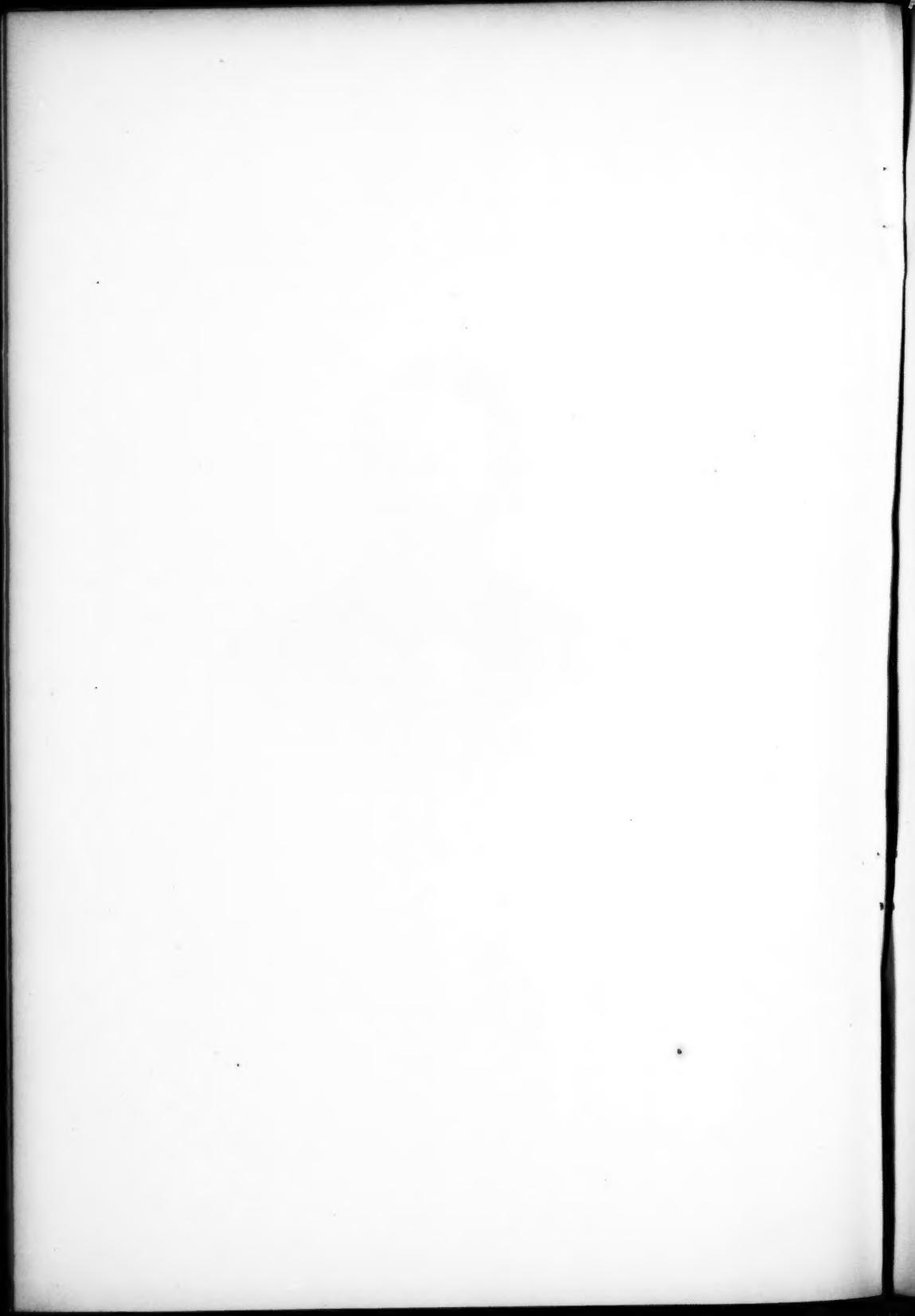
The doctor was engaged in the practice of medicine fifty years, interrupted only by railroad building and his services to the state. Altogether his life has been a busy and eventful one, and as will be seen, he has already passed the three-quarter mile post on his journey, and bids fair, with mental and physical powers apparently but slightly impaired by the hand of time, to round out a century of years. N. N. HILL, JR.



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BANKS AND BANKERS OF CLEVELAND.

II.

HIRAM GARRETSON.

A MARKED and prominent figure in the banking world of Cleveland during the years in which he was identified with it, was the late Hiram Garretson, president of the Second National bank, the predecessor of the National Bank of Commerce. He was fitted by nature and a long business training for the delicate and responsible duties of that position, and for success as a banker, and that the latter was achieved in the highest form was long since a matter of record and general consent. Mr. Garretson was born in York county, Pennsylvania, in 1817, and while he was quite young his parents removed to Columbiana county, Ohio, where the father opened a general store in New Lisbon. The son was given a good common school education, and when old enough to be of service was taken into his father's store as clerk, where he remained until nineteen years of age, growing in experience and judgment as in stature, and laying the foundations for the energy and power of later years. At the age last mentioned he took an important step for one of his years, leaving home and engaging in trade on his own responsibility on the Ohio and Mississippi

rivers, running a trading boat between Pittsburgh and New Orleans. The villages along the bank were small and poorly equipped in a mercantile way, and depended on these trading boats for the main portion of their supplies. The "marine merchant," as he might be called, would tie up at one of them, dispose of what he could, and then float to the next station below. When New Orleans was reached the boat and remainder of the stock would be sold for what they would bring, while the trader would go back by steamer and make his arrangements for another trip. This varied and unique life was followed for some time by the young trader from Columbiana county, and in it he gained much knowledge of human nature and of the world, that was of great use to him in the more extended operations of later days. He finally abandoned this line of business and returned to New Lisbon, where he opened a store which he conducted until 1851. At that period the opening of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago and the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroads, each of which drained the neighborhood of New Lisbon of trade without touching the town itself, revealed to the keen business eye of Mr. Garretson the decay

and stagnation that were sure to follow, and he decided to seek a field more promising to the future and more commensurate to his growing powers. Naturally he turned his face to Cleveland, and in 1852 he closed out his New Lisbon interests and came to this city. At that time the wholesale grocery trade of Cleveland was in its infancy, but two or three establishments of that kind being located here. Mr. Garretson associated himself with Messrs. Leonard and Robert Hanna, also former residents of Columbiana county, and the wholesale grocery and forwarding house of Hanna, Garretson & Company came into being. These enterprising men not only transacted an extensive business in this section, but did a large carrying trade between Cleveland and the Lake Superior iron and copper regions, which had only been recently opened to the world. They built steamers of their own, and in many ways aided in giving Cleveland a large portion of the new business thus created. In one article on the development of the Superior region we find the following tribute to this firm:

Their success caused other rival lines to be run, thus building up the Lake Superior trade to dimensions exceeding the most sanguine expectations of its pioneers. To this house belongs a large share of the credit due for the bringing of such a large proportion of this trade to Cleveland.

This partnership existed for nine years, during which time the house occupied a leading position in its line. At the expiration of that time Mr. Garretson withdrew and decided to go to New York, where an apparently advantageous offer to embark in the banking

business had been made him. But on investigating it, he found that the connections were not all such as came up to his high business idea, and he concluded to remain in Cleveland. The death of Mr. Charles Wick led him to purchase the wholesale grocery business that was offered for sale, and he soon found himself in the old occupation. The house of H. Garretson & Company, located on Water street, soon became one of the established features of Cleveland trade. The business of the new firm was similar to that of the old, including a wholesale grocery trade, with a Lake Superior shipping and commission department attached. A line of fine steamers was run up the lakes, and the high reputation enjoyed by Mr. Garretson among the people of that section enabled him to soon build up a large trade. The operations of the firm were among the most extensive of any establishment then in Cleveland. But Mr. Garretson still had a banking career in mind, and, in 1867, took a final and decisive step in that direction. He disposed of his business, and, in company with Stillman Witt, Amasa Stone, Jeptha H. Wade, George B. Ely and other leading citizens, established the Cleveland Banking company, with a capital of three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. It was located in the National Bank building, on the corner of Superior and Water streets, and went into operation February 1, 1868. Mr. Garretson was elected president, and from the start placed the new bank in the very front rank of Cleveland's financial institutions. His great ability and

safe judgment, his unquestioned integrity and his wide business acquaintance all contributed to the success of the new institution. Such was Mr. Garretson's standing as a banker, and so great was the confidence in him, that when the Second National bank, during its troubles of 1872, was looking about for some one to fill the suddenly vacated position of cashier, that had been held by J. C. Buell, all eyes were turned in his direction, and he was urged to unite his fortunes with those of the older corporation. The result was that the interests of the Cleveland Banking company were merged in those of the Second National, there was a reorganization, and Mr. Garretson was elected cashier. He held that office until 1874, when he was made president, and held that important position until the time of his death.

Mr. Garretson's success in his new line of business was of the most marked character, and showed that he had all the natural requisites for the great and oftentimes perilous duties of banking. He had a keen financial vision, his judgment was of the best, and he seemed to know when to venture and when to keep near shore. The confidence of the public in the safety of any course he might pursue was of the most unquestioning character. He made personal friends of all with whom he had business, and had a kind word and pleasant greeting for all he met. He was thorough and watchful in matters of business, looking as carefully after the interests of others when placed in his hands as if they had been his own.

Mr. Garretson was at various times in his life connected with other business enterprises, but as none of them touched on the main labors of his life, it is needless to detail them here. He refrained from all the ventures into politics and public station that are so attractive to some, although deeply interested in public questions and holding deep convictions thereon. He was a "Henry Clay Whig" until the formation of the Republican party, and thereafter worked earnestly for that organization, and in 1876 he was the first-named of the Cuyahoga district delegation to the national Republican convention which nominated Governor Hayes to the Presidency—a duty which the death of Mr. Garretson did not allow him to perform.

One public labor of Mr. Garretson's life was of so prominent a character and so well performed, that even a brief sketch of his labors could not be prepared without reference thereto. In 1873 he was named as one of the seven commissioners appointed to represent the United States in the Vienna international exposition. He went abroad in February of that year and in April arrived in Vienna, where there was work enough to do. The American department was in chaos, and it looked as though, through the blunders of some and the faults of others, the exhibit from this country would not only be a failure but a ridiculous one at that. Soon after his arrival the chief commissioner resigned, and there was a general demand that Mr. Garretson should take his place. He finally consented, and went to work with the activity, pluck

and energy for which he was noted, and immediately placed a new appearance on the situation. He gained the confidence of the exhibitors and the good will of the Austrian officers, and by three weeks of the hardest labor and most careful management, he saved the day and preserved the credit of his country. His success was of a most remarkable character, and not only won him the highest commendation from the national authorities at Washington but gained the undivided praise and earnest thanks of the Americans in Vienna. So pleased and grateful were the latter that on the conclusion of Mr. Garretson's official labors they presented him with an elegant testimonial as a mark of their appreciation and gratitude.

During the last few years of Mr. Garretson's life he suffered from disease of the heart, which gave him no little pain and trouble at various times. He was taken with a severe attack, in April of 1876, which held him for nearly a month. Toward the end of that period, in the early days of May, his family were certain they detected signs of improvement and hoped to see him about as usual at an early date. But that was never to be, and at seven o'clock on the evening of Sunday, May 7, the final summons fell swiftly upon him, and he was no more. Death claimed him with no note of warning, and gave him time for no final word of farewell. The shock to his loving family and friends was great, and their sorrow deep and sincere, for true and manly as Hiram Garretson had been in the world and among men, he was brightest and noblest and best in the

circle of his own home. His funeral was held on Wednesday, May 10, at the family residence, and when earth had at last been given to earth within the quiet of Lake View, the people of Cleveland felt that a worthy, honorable and useful man had been called suddenly from their midst. Beside a mourning wife, Mr. Garretson left two children, Mrs. J. H. Wade, jr., and Mr. George A. Garretson, vice-president of the National Bank of Commerce.

JAMES PANNELL.

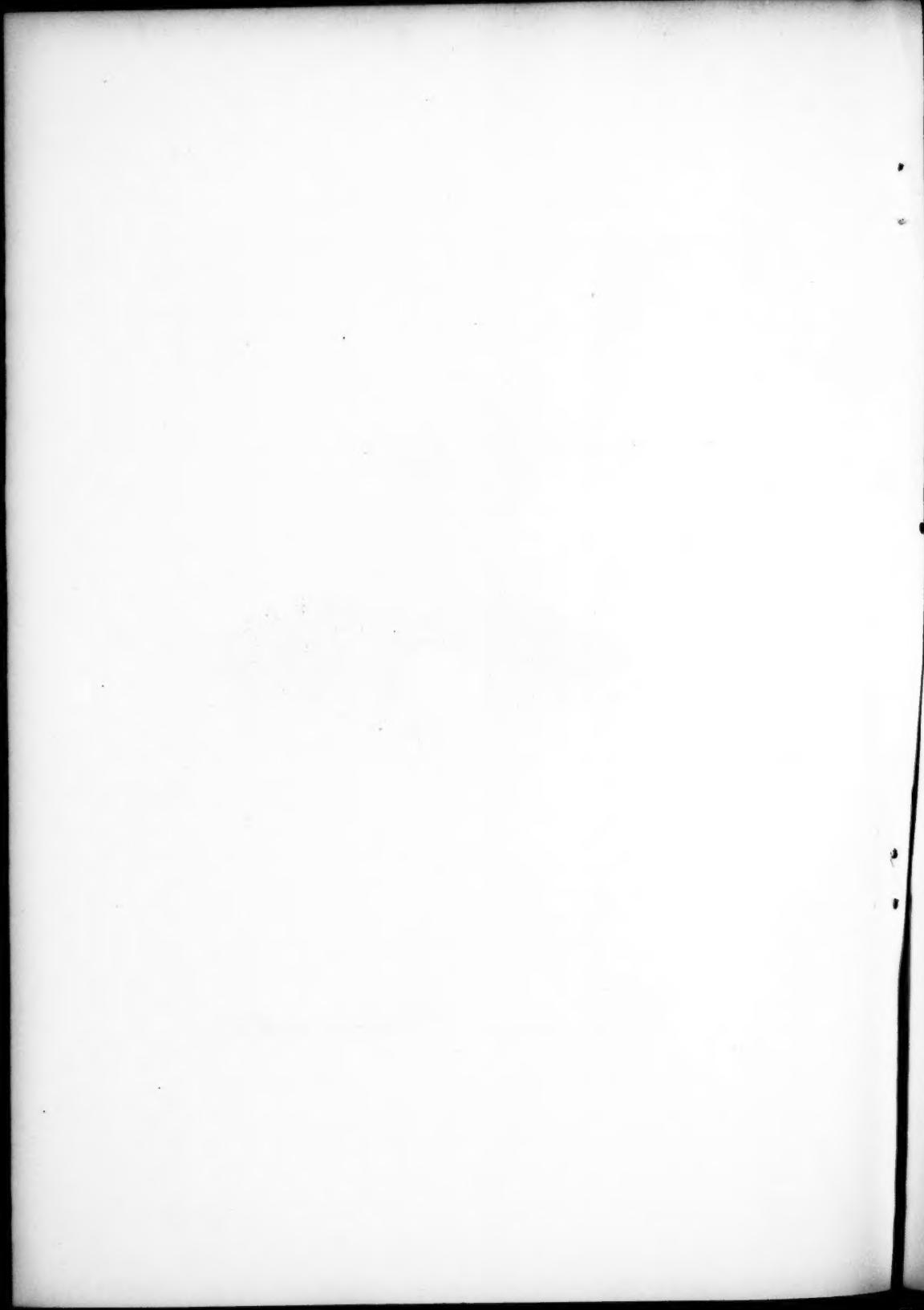
There are few men yet residents of Cleveland who came here over fifty years ago, and are still holding a place of usefulness and influence, and of those few the subject of this sketch should be given a leading place. And during that long half century he has been closely, but in an unostentatious way, identified with the material prosperity of the city, and was one of those who laid the foundations upon which so much has been built. Mr. Pannell was born on January 22, 1812, in Warren, Herkimer county, New York, striking out from home when he yet lacked a year of his majority. It was no anticipated holiday excursion, fifty years ago, for a young man living in comparative comfort at home, to pack up his few worldly goods and bid adieu to his friends and associates with a determination to make his way and a fortune. The objective point which the young emigrant had fixed in his mind was the city of St. Louis. Having made up his mind to go west, he followed the line of the Erie canal to Buffalo, and there



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James Pennell

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embarked on the steamer *Henry Clay* in the month of September, 1832. He landed in Cleveland, which had just passed through the first siege of cholera, and many families had felt the effects of the scourge. Business was just recovering from the depression of the past season, and mechanics were in fair demand. In view of that fact young Pannell concluded to defer for the time being his first intention of trying his fortunes in St. Louis.

Mr. Pannell has been heard to remark in later years that his first venture in life was the building of a dwelling house out beyond Rocky river for Judge Wood, afterwards governor of Ohio, which has graced the grounds of Evergreen place for more than half a century. From this day onward his business grew rapidly, and he was for many years one of the most active men in the upbuilding of Cleveland, and during the years of activity has added to the buildings of Cleveland enough to make by themselves a town equal to the city at the time of his arrival, and there are many blocks, houses and buildings standing to-day as a landmark of his industries. His last work in that direction was the building of the main court house of Cuyahoga county, now commonly known as the "old building."

Mr. Pannell was, in the earlier and busier days of his life, a useful and public spirited citizen in many ways. Whenever matters touching the public good were being agitated, he was always ready with advice or material aid to carry out the best policy that could be suggested. He has always been an earnest advocate

of the public schools. He did all that lay in his power to foster the early military enterprises of the city, and was one of those who helped to keep the Cleveland Grays up to the highest use and efficiency. During the war for the Union he was especially active in that direction, giving of his time and money for the raising of troops and hiring of substitutes, and doing all that lay in his power for his country's cause. In the days of the old hand fire engines he was the friend of a vigorous department properly maintained by public spirit, and for a number of years worked personally on the brakes of old Neptune No. 2.

After many years of active personal oversight and attention to important enterprises, Mr. Pannell concluded to allow himself a rest therefrom, and to give his time and attention to less exacting lines of activity. He found a chance for the advantageous investment of a part of his accumulations in banking, and having a taste in that direction has in the past twenty-five years been largely interested in the banks of Cleveland. When the Society for Savings, the first bank of the kind in Northern Ohio, was organized, he became one of its original trustees, and was connected with that institution for several years. He was one of the founders of the well-known banking house of S. W. Crittenden & Co., his associates in that enterprise being George Worthington, Philo Scoville, Benjamin Harrington and S. W. Crittenden. When in 1863 this banking house was merged into the First National Bank of Cleveland, Mr. Pannell

became a stockholder therein and was elected a member of the board of directors, which position he held until 1883. He was elected vice-president of the First National in January, 1876, and held that position also until his departure from the directory and sale of stock in order to take part in the organization of the Cleveland National bank in 1883. He is a director and vice-president in the last named institution, and takes great interest in its welfare. In all his banking connections he has shown good financial wisdom and prudence, and yet has all the courage needed for any venture to which his judgment gives assent. He has in many ways been a true and steadfast friend to the banking interests of Cleveland, giving them not only the aid of his capital but of his judgment and good name as well.

Mr. Pannell was a Henry Clay Whig in the day of that party, and fell into line with the Republican party after the other organization had gone out of existence. Although a firm believer in his party, he is a greater believer in good men, and will strike from his ticket the name of any candidate whom he regards unworthy of the place for which he aspires. Although frequently urged, he never has accepted a nomination for official station. Emphatically American in all his views and feelings, he became early in life a firm friend of a high tariff for the protection of home industries. He is and always has been of the most exact honor and honesty in all the relations of business and social life. His business judgment is of the best. His active intercourse and long experience

with men, coupled with a keen native insight, have enabled him to readily form an opinion respecting the general character of those he meets, and that conclusion is generally just and correct. He is plain and outspoken in his opinions, and stands manfully by his convictions. He is careful and judicious in his business transactions, and equally so with those of others that may be entrusted to his hands. He is known and honored in this community as one whose uniform intelligence, perseverance and integrity are worthy of the highest praise and the most earnest emulation. He is generous to those needing help, and gives much through channels of his own choosing. While impatient with the needless weakness and follies of men, he is lenient in judgment, and has a quick and tender sympathy for the poor or innocent who are compelled to suffer wrong. All in all, James Pannell is one of the true and worthy men of this community.

Mr. Pannell was married, on October 29, 1836, to Miss Amelia Newell of Euclid, formerly of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and a long and happy union has been granted them. Three children have been born to them, of whom only one, Mrs. P. M. Spencer, is living.

A. K. SPENCER.

No name has been more widely or favorably known in connection with the banking interests of Cleveland than that of the late A. K. Spencer, who, from the infancy of the national banking system was one of its supporters, and contributed much to its successful workings.



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A. W. Spurr



To him does the First National Bank of Cleveland owe its name as such ; to his business tact, sagacity, financial ability and close attention to those cardinal principles which must be a part of any business that commands success, does this institution owe a large portion of its prosperity, its remarkable success, and its high name ; and he ever gave himself and his time to its interests with the most loyal devotion.

Mr. Spencer was born in Fort Ann, Washington county, New York, December 15, 1830, and was one of seven children born to Lyman M. and Phoebe Kingsley Spencer, both of English descent, though his mother traces her family line back to Martin Luther, the German reformer. His parents were of such means as enabled them to give him a thorough common school education. After a youth spent upon his father's farm, where was laid a foundation for the physical endurance that stood him so faithfully during his many years of continued and close application, he left home, fixed with the determination to make a name for himself, and armed with a strong constitution, a thorough knowledge of himself, and an indomitable will, as fitting implements with which to accomplish his purpose. He first went to Whitehall, upon Lake Champlain, which was then a thriving town with apparently a bright future. It was not, however, until after clerking in various branches, with C. Griswold, at one time one of the best known merchants of northern New York, again with the Champlain Canal company, that he became associated with the

business which was to demand his life attention, and for which he was pre-eminently and peculiarly adapted. In 1854, as teller in the old Bank of Whitehall, he began his career as a banker, which had a period of twenty-seven years with but a single break. Constantly on the outlook for an improvement of condition, his attention was drawn westward and particularly to Cleveland, in that his brother-in-law, Melanchton Turner, had located there, and sent glowing descriptions to him of the west, with its many inducements and possibilities. In 1856 Mr. Spencer fully decided to join his destiny with the west, came to Cleveland, then a thriving city of some forty thousand inhabitants. The letters brought with him from his former employers were so emphatic in their assertions of his worth that he readily obtained employment as cashier with T. N. Bond, then agent for the Northern Transportation company, a position he filled satisfactorily, gaining many acquaintances and as many friends, until, at Mr. Bond's instigation, a situation more in keeping with his tastes was secured with the banking house of S. W. Crittenden & Company. With this house he remained until it gave way to what became, through Mr. Spencer's wide-awake action, "The First" National Bank of Cleveland and the third in the United States. A hurried trip to Washington, in anticipation of a movement of the organizers of what became the Second National, who had gone so far as to order their books gotten up under the title of First National, secured for him and his associates the coveted

epithet—First in name. A great point was scored, and one that has undoubtedly benefited the bank materially. Starting in as assistant cashier he became, on January 14, 1865, its cashier, a position he ever afterwards held, although repeatedly offered the presidency, until his death, which occurred most suddenly, on February 21, 1881—most suddenly, for the day previous found him pursuing his usual routine business habits with the same ardor that characterized him in his early years.

Mr. Spencer moved among his fellow-citizens in constantly enlarging spheres of usefulness and trust, honored for business sagacity, for official integrity and ability. For eight years a member of the board of education, and at one time vice-president of that body, he greatly furthered the educational interests of the city. He was twice elected a member of the board of water works trustees and twice returned a member of the city council, where his sterling worth was ever appreciated and secured him a place upon the most important committees; for three years he was chairman of the finance committee. The regard held for him in his capacity as a member of this body, is best voiced by the words of his colleague, Mr. H. C. Ford, at the time of his death :

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Council: I rise to make an unexpected and sad announcement; it is the sudden death, this morning, of my colleague, A. K. Spencer. His chair is vacant, his genial smile is missed, and there is sadness on each face. I am unable, Mr. President, to voice my thoughts or give expression to my feelings in this great, and to me personal loss. Most of us have known Mr. Spencer for years. We have met him in business relations, often on this floor, in the committee room

or society, and we have all learned to esteem him for his cheerful nature and to honor him for his noble qualities. As a member of the board of education, as trustee of the water works board and as a fellow member of this council, we all have seen in Mr. Spencer a zealous, honest and capable official. Integrity and candor characterized him. In his faithful discharge of public trusts, we have an example and inspiration. We feel keenly his loss, yet more deeply will this be felt when we take up again the duties of this body, and are deprived of his wise, conservative counsel. I assure you, gentlemen, that his constituents will sorely miss him, for they held him in high esteem and confidence. It is with great difficulty I speak of Mr. Spencer's death. Besides being my colleague and faithful friend, his long experience gave especial value to his words of advice. These and his expressions of interest in me, are indelibly written on my memory.

Mr. Spencer was a director of the Citizens' Saving and Loan association, was trustee and treasurer of the Mahoning Valley railroad, and for years a regular attendant and honored trustee of the Second Presbyterian church. Socially he was, most emphatically, a home man, and to his home he was most heartily devoted. He was married, at Whitehall, in 1857, to Charlotte M. Polley, daughter of Jonathan Polley, at one time construction engineer of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and afterward a successful producer of oil at Mecca, during the oil excitement of 1860. Mr. Spencer was often called upon by men for advice, and never did one turn away uncomforted. His sound, solid, conservative counsel was a strength to all; his remarkable diligence and application furnish a salutary example to all, and his intelligence, industry and fidelity are in their results a lasting monument to his memory.

CHARLES ELWOOD WARREN.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

JANUARY 1, 1886. A happy New Year to our readers! A century ago this day, how few were the Anglo-Americans permanently settled in all the "vast, illimitable, changing west!"

Beyond the Mississippi there were, possibly, none. What wonders have been wrought in the hundred years now gone!

THE history of the Dominion of Canada as an organized confederation commences with July 1, 1867, when the foundation was laid for the consolidation, under one government, of all British North America. Its annals, therefore, to the present time, are exceedingly brief; but the history of the various provinces and territories of which it is composed is coeval with our own country. It seems to be the determination of the dominion officials to make its records as accessible as possible to the historian, regardless of his nationality. In the public archives at Ottawa, under the charge of Douglas Brymner as archivist, are many letters and documents referring to early events in the United States, particularly in the west during the Revolution. We hope to lay before our readers, in the near future, some of the most interesting of these papers.

AS THERE has been considerable controversy about the real name of the lost state of 1788—whether "Frankland" or "Franklin"—we append one of its laws, enacted in that year, which settles the question in favor of "Franklin." It is a curious act, providing for the support of the Civil List.

Whereas, the collection of taxes in specie, for the want of a circulating medium, has become very oppressive to the good people of this commonwealth; and, whereas, it is the duty of the legislature to hear at all times the prayers of their constituents and apply as speedy a remedy as lies in their power: Be it enacted by the general assembly of the

state of Franklin, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that from the first day of January, Anno Domini, 1789, the salaries of the civil officers of this commonwealth be as follows, to-wit:

His excellency the governor, per annum, one thousand deer skins; his honor the chief-justice, five hundred ditto; the attorney-general, five hundred ditto; secretary to his excellency the governor, five hundred raccoon ditto; the treasurer of the state, four hundred and fifty otter ditto; each county clerk, three hundred beaver ditto; members of assembly, per diem, three raccoon skins; justices' fee for serving a warrant, one mink skin.

Enacted into a law this fifteenth day of October, 1788, under the great seal of the state. Witness his excellency John Sevier, governor, commander-in-chief and admiral in and over said state.

THE Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Herbert B. Adams, editor, has now, with the November and December (1885) issue, reached the last number (XI.-XII.) of its third series—"The City of Washington," by John Addison Porter. It may be said, with truth, that there is no flagging in the later numbers; they rather increase in interest and value. The first number of the fourth series will, it is announced, be devoted to "Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River," by Irving Etling; to be followed by "Rhode Island Town Governments," by William E. Foster.

THE notorious Simon Girty and his brother, James Girty—both of whom as refugees figured largely and infamously in the west during the Revolution and the Indian war of 1790-95—resided during the later years of their lives in Canada West. In the 'Book of Grants from the Crown,' for the township of Malden, in the county of Essex, may be found a grant to Simon Girty, made March 6, 1798, of lot No. 11, described as "beginning at a post on the bank of the River Detroit, marked 44; thence

east 131 chains; thence south 12 chains 52 links; thence west to the River Detroit; thence northerly along the shore of the river against the stream to the place of beginning—containing 164 acres." This was the homestead of Simon, and here he died in 1818.

The grants to James Girty were in the township of Gosfield, in the same county, of lot No. 8, in front concession, western division, described as lying "between Cedar creek and Mill creek," containing 200 acres, dated May 17, 1802; and lots Nos. 23 and 24, in the sixth concession, eastern division, containing 400 acres, dated July 7, 1807.

THE oldest librarian—the one who has served in that capacity the greatest number of years consecutively—in the west, in one institution, is Daniel S. Durrie, librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He entered upon the discharge of his duties January 1, 1856, so that his term of service has been exactly thirty years. Mr. Durrie continues his labors in the genealogical field, in which he has few rivals in the United States.

WITHIN a comparatively recent period an unusual interest has been awakened in everything appertaining to the first exploration of the northwest by John Nicolet. This has called out one book and several lengthy articles devoted to the career of this indomitable explorer in America. But of his early life in France nothing is known. M. Henri Jouvan, a distinguished scholar of Cherbourg, is now engaged upon his history before leaving his native land. In speaking of Nicolet, M. Jouvan writes that the names of his father and mother—Nicolet and Delamer—are very common through the country where he resides. "A parish, distant two miles from Cherbourg, with a population of only eight hundred souls, numbers thirty-seven families named Nicolet, and nearly as many named Delamer." We may soon expect from the able pen of M. Jouvan a full account of Nicolet's life before embarking for Canada, in 1618; also some account of his ancestors.

DURING French and English domination in the west, there were promulgated a number of important state papers and documents, some of which have an immediate bearing on our early history. These last named are of interest to the historian, and are frequently sought for; but it sometimes happens (although they have all been published) that much difficulty is experienced in finding them. Few of the libraries in our country have all of them. We name the principal of these state documents, giving citations to the books in which they may be found:

I.—FRENCH DOMINATION: (1) Daumont de Saint Lusson, *Procès-verbal*, June 14, 1671, in Margry, vol. i, pp. 96-99. (2) La Salle, *Procès-verbal*, March 14, 1682, in Margry, vol. ii, pp. 181-185. (3) La Salle, *Procès-verbal*, April 9, 1682, in Margry, vol. ii, pp. 186-193. (4) Perrot, *Minute of Taking Possession of the Country of the Upper Mississippi*, May 8, 1689, in *New York Colonial History*, vol ix, p. 418.

II.—ENGLISH DOMINATION: (1) Preliminary Treaty of Peace with France (*Fontainebleau*), November 3, 1762, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxii, pp. 569-573. (2) Definite Treaty of Peace with France (*Paris*), February 10, 1763, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 121-126. (3) Proclamation of King George (*Court of St. James*), October 7, 1763, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 477-479. (4) The Quebec Bill (1774), in 14 George III, *Statutes at Large of Great Britain*, chapter 83.

TWO EVENTS which have taken place in the west—the so-called "Attack on St. Louis" by savages, in 1780, and the retaliatory expedition of Montgomery, immediately following it—have given rise to much discussion; and there are some important questions connected with these events not yet fully settled. References to the "attack," as it is generally called, are to be found in most of our western histories. A number of local writers of marked ability (some not writing particularly for books) have discussed the subject. The points remaining in doubt are as to the number of troops brought by Colonel George Rogers Clark to Cahokia to assist

in repelling the enemy; also as to whether he crossed the Mississippi to the Spanish side to assist De Leyba, the Spanish governor of St. Louis; and further, as to the reasons why the savages suddenly retired without actually attacking the village; also whether De Leyba had official notice of war then existing between England and Spain. It is probable these questions will not be fully answered until the official correspondence of the Spanish governor is published, as well as that of Patrick Sinclair, lieutenant-governor and commandant, at that date, of Michilimackinac, who sent out the savages.

THE phenomenal growth of Chicago is generally attributed to its railroads; but, are not its railroads equally due (so to speak) to the

city; in other words, has there not been between them a reciprocity? This leads us to the fact that, after all, commerce and travel, foreign and inland, are always large factors in the building up of great cities. Although Chicago as a city is of "few days and full of trouble," there was a foreshadowing of its greatness back of its railways, back of its first settlement, back of the establishing there of a United States military post, back even to the time when, two hundred years ago, the early French explorers of the boundless west found the Chicago river and portage right in their path, go almost where they would. Nature and the efforts of man make the mighty cities of the world; both are rapidly making Chicago.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

The following circular to Ohio teachers will be of interest to all who are interested in Ohio history. Mr. Graham, secretary of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical society, is engaged in the laudable work of awakening an interest in Ohio history. As will be seen from this circular, the society of which Mr. Graham is the secretary, contemplates the publication, in the near future, of a history of the state, designed especially for the use of public schools. Such a work as this is greatly needed, and if prepared with care and intelligence, will prove of incalculable value. Mr. Graham, we understand, will be the author. His facilities for the production of a satisfactory state history are unsurpassed, while his fitness for the undertaking is beyond question. We trust all interested will extend him every possible assistance:

1788. OHIO'S COMING CENTENNIAL. 1888.

TEACHERS OF OHIO: You, who are now teaching history in our schools, are aware of the approaching centennial of the first permanent settlement in the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio River," in what is now Ohio. That such an event merits a proper recognition everyone will admit. When the Ohio Archaeological and Historical society was organized in March last, that question came prominently before it. It was the opinion of those present, representing all parts of the state, that no better method of cele-

brating such an event could be inaugurated than by enlisting the teachers and scholars of the schools of Ohio in the movement, and on the centennial day, holding celebration exercises in every school-house in the state. This would in no wise interfere with a celebration at Marietta, where the settlement was made, and where the chief celebration will be held. By the method proposed every inhabitant of Ohio can participate in a celebration. It was deemed expedient by those connected with the schools who were present at our organization, that some preparation be made, that the children of the state might understand why we celebrate that day. Hence it was decided that a suggestive course of reading and study of western history be recommended to the schools, to be used during the intervening time, prior to the celebration day, April 7, 1888. For that day, a pamphlet, prepared by Dr. John B. Peaslee, superintendent of the Cincinnati schools, will be issued, containing selections of poetry and prose, somewhat like the Arbor day pamphlets, now so popular. This pamphlet will be ready for distribution in the winter of 1887-8, and will be sent free to every school that desires the use of it.

The suggestive course of reading is now in my hands ready to print. It was carefully prepared by a committee of five prominent educators, appointed at the meeting of the State Teachers' Association, at Chautauqua, in July last. The members of this committee, John B. Peaslee of Cincinnati, R. W. Stevenson of Columbus, Marcellus Manly of Galion, Alston Ellis of Sandusky, and LeRoy D. Brown, state school commissioner, have given the matter careful attention, and they hope every teacher and pupil in our schools will second their efforts.

The teachers of the state have now an opportunity to direct the attention of the pupils under their charge to the study of one of the most entertaining and instructive branches in our common school course, an opportunity that will not occur again in this generation.

The Archaeological and Historical society will be glad of your help in this part of the work, and I will cheerfully and promptly respond to all inquiries that may be made.

The society expects to issue a small, comprehensive history of Ohio early next year. This it will furnish the schools at a moderate price, and trusts that its efforts will be heartily seconded by all teachers of Ohio. I will be glad to receive suggestions concerning this work from anyone who considers the matter.

I hope to receive the names and addresses of all the teachers, that I may mail them the circulars as issued. It will be a great help if those who write in response to this open letter will give me the names and addresses of all teachers of country schools in their acquaintance, care being taken to specify the township and county in which they teach.

A. A. GRAHAM, Secretary.
Columbus, Ohio, December 1, 1885.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The regular monthly (December) meeting of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical society was held December 8 in the senate chamber at the capitol in Columbus. Dr. H. A. Thompson, of the executive committee, presided in the absence of the president, Hon. A. G. Thurman. The secretary reported the following active members received since the last meeting: Chief-Justice M. R. Waite, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Carroll Cutler, Cleveland, Ohio; Professor George F. Wright, Oberlin; Dr. J. F. Baldwin, Columbus; Mrs. Lucretia R. Garfield, Cleveland; Judge W. J. Gilmore, Columbus; Major E. C. Dawes, Cincinnati; Frederick Fieser, Jacob Reinhard, William F. Kemmler, L. Hirsch, W. I. Chamberlain, F. C. Sessions and Rev. F. E. Marsden, Columbus; James Barnett, Cleveland; Henry Bohl, Marietta; George H. Twiss and Dr. A. E. Evans, Columbus; Rev. S. F. Scovill, Wooster; H. C. Drinkle, Lancaster. He also read a letter from Miss Susan M. Sturges of Mansfield, enclosing fifty dollars, the fee of a life member, and applying for such membership. Upon motion the same was received with thanks. Miss Sturges is the first life member in the society.

The secretary announced that the Ohio commission to the New Orleans Exposition had presented to the society almost the entire exhibit of the state, among other articles a plaster cast of the surface of

the state, valued at \$2,000, about 10 x 10 feet square, forty-six framed photographs of school buildings in various cities, and fifty bound volumes containing Cincinnati school examination papers. He also brought to the attention of members the matter of a centennial celebration in 1888, and stated that he had received letters from societies in New England states with reference to a celebration of the settlement of the Northwest Territory. President H. A. Thompson appointed Messrs. H. T. Crittenden, W. Y. Miles and E. O. Randall a committee to meet jointly with a similar committee from the state board of agriculture on the fourteenth of January to confer on the matter of a centennial fair in the fall of 1888. The next meeting of the society also takes place on that date, with an illustrated lecture by Professor J. P. McLean in the evening.

The address of the evening was delivered by General E. B. Finley of Bucyrus, Ohio, on the "Mound Builders and Lake Dwellers."

Though the weather was of a kind that would deter people from leaving their homes, however great the inducement to go out, a very excellent audience attended. Those who were present received ample recompense for wading through the slush and running the risk of a tumble on the icy pavement, in being privileged to hear an ably prepared lecture. The subject was exhaustively treated and interesting throughout, commanding wrapt attention from the beginning to the close, which was marked by an exhibition of the appreciation of the general's hearers in an outburst of applause, supplemented with a vote of thanks.

The speaker began by saying the subject was not a new one. There is no written history of the Mound Builders, but searching the curious elevations of earth developed facts, and from these it is concluded that many centuries ago there existed a people superior to the Indian, who had implements of war and peace—a race that disappeared one thousand years ago, leaving behind no record save relics of their age hidden in subterranean caverns. His attention was first called to this people in 1867, while teaching school, by extensive fortifications along the bluffs of the Illinois river. He resolved to explore one of the mounds, but the natives were superstitious, and it was only after persistent efforts that assistance was procured. He next described the architecture of the mound and the usual contents, and referred to the characteristics of the builders, hardness, full development, prowess, and facial peculiarity, a Roman nose. It was not known that

they were multitudinous, nor that they became extinct at the remote period commonly agreed upon, except by theory. Trees known by certain laws of nature to be five hundred years old are rooted in mounds, from which exploration brings forth ornaments, skeletons, altars, and other evidence of an extinct race. He spoke of the stone, brass, bronze and iron ages, and said but one article of iron composition had, so far as known, been discovered in mounds, which went to show that these ancient people knew nothing of the uses to which this metal might be put. There was evidence that they did not depend on hunting alone for subsistence, but were also agriculturists. Their work in constructing these excrescences was compared favorably with that required in erecting the Egyptian pyramids.

It appears that Ohio was as famous in the days of mound-building as at present, numbered as many men of prominence, and was the capital. In Ross county are located one hundred enclosures and five hundred mounds, the outlines of which represent birds, men, etc. He then gave detailed descriptions of several of the most gigantic mounds, among them the one near Newark. What became of these people? While some believed they had been exterminated by a stronger race, nothing positive was known.

Traces of the "Lake Dwellers" were first obtained in 1829, in Switzerland, and subsequently in Germany and Northern Italy. Their villages were constructed on piles in shoal water, twenty feet or more from shore. They lived seven thousand years ago.

At the conclusion of the address, on motion of Mr. Randall, the thanks of the society were tendered General Finley, and the same ordered recorded in the minutes of the meeting.

The next meeting of the society was announced for January 14, 1886, when Rev. J. P. McLean of Hamilton will deliver the lecture, illustrated by the stereopticon. The number of members in the society is now two hundred and twenty, evidencing the growing interest in the society and its work.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting of Chicago Historical society was held on the evening of November 17, 1885. Hon. E. B. Washburne presided. The librarian, Albert D. Hager, submitted his annual report. It showed an accession of 2,709 bound books and 4,532 unbound books for the year, which, added to former accessions, make a total of 12,024 bound books and 35,388 pamphlets. Of these 1,308 books were pur-

chased with the income from the "Lucretia Pond Fund." The librarian also reported that during the year he had had 795 volumes bound at an expense of \$760.15, of which 314 were newspaper files, and a large percentage of the remainder were publications of literary, scientific and sister societies.

From the treasurer's report it was shown that the entire expenditures for the year, including salaries, bills for binding books, taxes, etc., were \$1,869.86. The balance in the treasury was \$725.30.

Hon. Thomas Drummond, in behalf of the family of the late Isaac N. Arnold, presented an oil portrait of Mr. Arnold, late president of the society, which President Washburne accepted with appropriate remarks.

Mr. E. G. Mason, for executive committee, made a report of the two trust funds, of the late Jonathan Burr and Miss Lucretia Pond. The former, amounting to \$2,000, is safely invested and there is an income of \$120 in the treasury, which will be used to defray the expense of the society publications. The Lucretia Pond fund is also safely invested and at the commencement of the fiscal year there were \$971.96 on hand. Amount since received \$810, making \$1,781.96. Of this amount \$1,400.53 have been expended for books during the year. Hon. A. H. Birley, one of the trustees of the "Gilpin Fund," made reports showing that the total amount of that fund was \$71,279.67.

Rev. M. Woolsey, Stryker Hampstead and John Moses were elected members of the society. An election of officers for the ensuing year was held and the following persons were elected to the several offices named, viz :

Hon. E. B. Washburne, president; Edward G. Mason, first vice-president; A. C. McClurg, second vice-president; Henry H. Nash, treasurer; Albert D. Hager, secretary and librarian; Mark Skinner and D. H. Pearson, members of the executive committee to serve till 1889.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

"INQUIRER" in your issue for October overrates my capacity when he thinks I can translate "without trouble" a list of Indian words given without stating any connection in which they were found.

Of the words he gives "Cocalico" is the only one I am able to recognize as a genuine Indian word. It is the name of a creek and of a township in Lancaster county, Pa. A writer in Scribner's

Magazine for December, 1881 (page 209), says it is from *Koch-ha-le-Kiung*—the “cave of serpents.”

Wenanghanna is, like all the other words that follow, unknown to me. *Hanna* is the Delaware for a rapid mountain stream or river, but *Wenang* is suggestive of two of the syllables of *Venango* or *Wenango*, and *Venango* is believed to be of Iroquois origin and derived from a vulgar Indian painting on rocks; the juncture of the two is incongruous and unmeaning.

Toby, or *Topi*, as Heckewelder spells it, is a Delaware word, and is the name of the alder plant. The name is found only in Pennsylvania. In Clarion county is a township called *Toby*, and a stream in

Berks county is called *Toby-hanna*, or river where the alder abounds. *Toby-Cushquan* I have never come across, and *Toby-ongahela* looks more like a coinage than an actual Indian word. The etymology of *Monongahela* has puzzled the wisest Indian scholars. It means “river with the falling-in banks,” but no one has been able to analyze it. The same fate is in store for *Toby-ongahela*, so far as I am concerned.

Kuska-hany would seem to be the name of a stream, from the *hany* or *hanna* attached to it, but of *whai* stream I cannot tell, and *Shingpaka* is an utter stranger to my eyes.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

REVIEWS.

‘WASHINGTON-IRVINE CORRESPONDENCE.’ By C. W. Butterfield. 436 pp. Madison (Wis.): David Atwood, 1882.

During the Revolution, from November, 1781, to October, 1783, Brigadier-general William Irvine was in command of the Western Department, at Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh. The letters which passed during that period between Washington and General Irvine are, in this work, chronologically arranged and carefully annotated by C. W. Butterfield, the author of ‘Crawford’s Campaign against Sandusky’ and other historical works. This correspondence, which is mostly official, is of special interest to western readers, inasmuch as it is wholly confined to events transpiring west of the Alleghany mountains, at the most critical period of our national existence.

The selection of General Irvine to take charge of military affairs in the west, which was done by Washington only after a careful consideration of the fittest person for the position—one uniting courage and firmness with prudence and judgment—proved a wise one. How his perseverance brought the repairs of Fort Pitt so nearly to completion as twice to cause the abandonment by the enemy of expeditions against it; how, until the close of the war, his firmness and urbanity preserved order at Pittsburgh; and how his prudence and sagacity gave confidence to the distracted border and something of efficiency to its militia, the correspondence very fully discloses. Irvine’s letters are clear in description,

faithful in statements, and careful in details. The book contains, in addition to the letters of the two generals, many which passed during the same years between Irvine and a number of other army officers on public business, and between him and several military commanders and United States, state and county officials, the whole numbering more than two hundred and fifty.

To the introduction, we particularly desire to call the attention of the reader. This is wholly the work of Mr. Butterfield. It is the first attempt to give a complete narrative of what occurred on the western frontier of Pennsylvania and northwest Virginia during the Revolution. It fairly supplements Parkman’s ‘Montcalm and Wolfe’ and his ‘Pontiac’. Every page bears witness of close investigation and of having been prepared from original sources. Although intended only as a sketch preliminary to the principal subjects of the volume—‘the Washington-Irvine Correspondence’—it has a value to the general reader fully equal to the latter. Following the introduction is a condensed but very readable biographical sketch of General Irvine.

A striking feature of the book, and not the least valuable part of it, are the copious and practical foot-notes. In them are to be found a large number of historical references and explanations concerning matters in the west, which have evidently been gathered only after an enormous amount of research. We notice in the preface that George Plumer Smith, William A. Irvine, Isaac Craig,

William H. Egle and Boyd Crumrine of Pennsylvania, C. C. Baldwin of Cleveland, and Lyman C. Draper of Wisconsin, tendered assistance and made valuable suggestions while the work was going through the press.

The book is printed on tinted paper, neatly bound in English cloth, and contains a steel portrait of Washington from a Stuart picture, and one of General Irvine from a painting of B. Otis after one by Robert Edge Pine. The mechanical execution of the work reflects much credit on the publisher.

'JOURNAL OF CAPT. JONATHAN HEART.' By Consul Wilshire Butterfield. Pp. XV, 94. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1885.

When the United States, by the treaty of peace of 1783, had acquired from Great Britain all the territory northwest of the Ohio to the great lakes and west to the Mississippi, and had practically obtained from all the states, claiming rights therein, a cession of their interests, whatever these were, and as the disposal of the lands in this extensive area and the establishing of a government for the settlers who should purchase them, required as a condition precedent the holding of treaties with the savages who claimed possession of the country, to establish peace with them and fix a limit to their right of occupancy, the United States determined, early in 1784, to appoint commissioners to treat with the various tribes, instructing these commissioners to plainly tell the Indians that if they refused, "congress would take the most decided measures to compel them thereto."

In a letter from the president of congress to the governor of Pennsylvania, dated February 20, 1784, he said: "At this moment there are many matters of the highest importance to the safety, honor and happiness of the United States which require immediate attention. Among these, I need only mention the establishing of a general peace with the Indians and settling the western territory, the arranging of our foreign affairs and taking measures for securing our frontier, preserving our stores and magazines, making requisitions for the expenses of the current year, and for satisfying the public creditors."

We have been led into these thoughts and induced to give this extract from the archives of Pennsylvania, from reading the above mentioned 'Journal of Captain Jonathan Heart, on the march with his command from Connecticut to Fort Pitt, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from the seventh of September to the

twelfth of October, 1785, inclusive,' for the reason that the work is intimately connected with, and has an important bearing on, the incipient measures adopted by the general government immediately after the ending of the war for independence.

The company of Captain Heart was a part of the "First American Regiment," so-called, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmar, and was organized exclusively for western service soon after the close of the Revolution. What that service would be is plainly foreshadowed in the extract just given.

Captain Heart was one of the very few officers retained by congress in the service until after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, when he returned to his home in Connecticut. He soon after received from congress a commission as captain in the new regiment under Colonel Harmar, and in obedience to instruction he began at once to recruit in his own state for a company. The work went on slowly, and it was the last of August, 1785, before the captain was ready to march his command to the west. Of his journey to Pittsburgh, the journal now given to the public furnishes the details so far as they are known. The original manuscript has been preserved—a copy of which is in the possession of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical society—and is now published at the request of its president, Colonel Charles Whittlesey.

To the journal proper, which has been carefully annotated, is added the Dickinson-Harmar correspondence of 1784-5, which throws light upon affairs leading to, and resulting in the organization and marching westward of Harmar's regiment. These letters clearly reveal what the relations were between the United States and the Indian tribes to the northward and westward at that period.

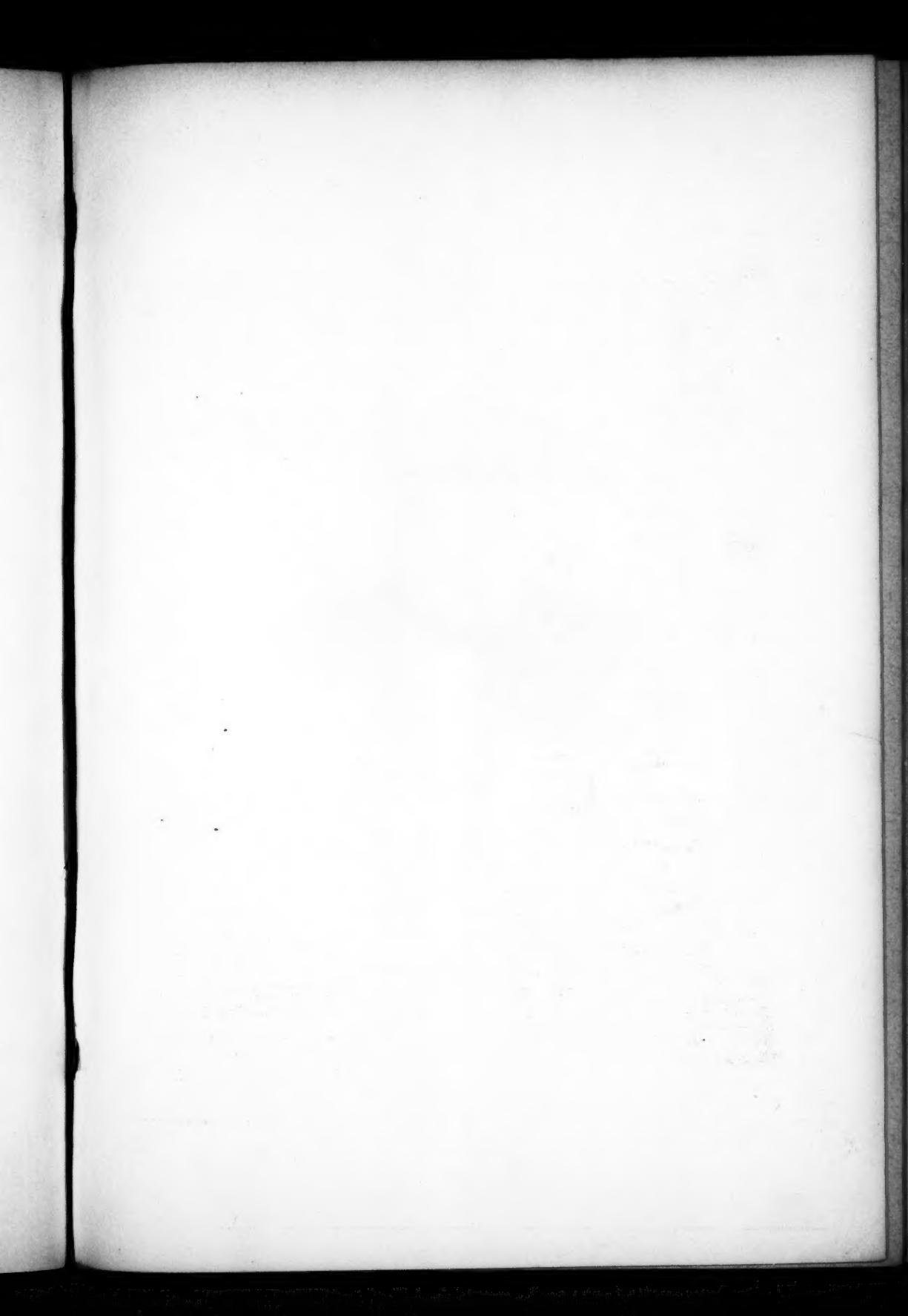
A brief biography of Captain Heart is given in the book, which shows that he saw a great deal of service in the west at the coming on of the Indian war of 1790-95. He was finally promoted to major and was killed at St. Clair's defeat. The following is the account of his death: "When all were in confusion and dismay, Major Heart was ordered to charge the enemy with the bayonet, with a view to facilitate a retreat, or rather a flight, to the shattered remains of the army. This charge was made with gallantry and spirit, under circumstances which language is too feeble to describe—the desolation of the place, the confusion of the scene, and the whoops and yells of a savage foe flushed with victory and thirsting for blood, the general consternation which prevailed and the groans of the dying in every

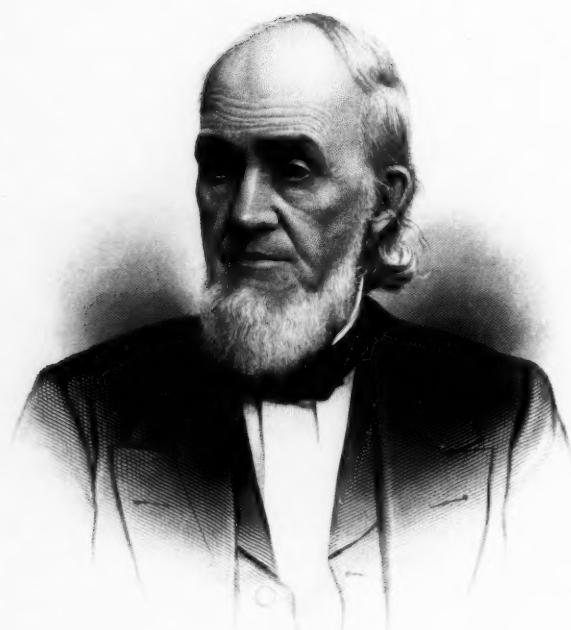
direction. But the intrepid major and almost every man of his party were killed in the desperate enterprise."

[Through the courtesy of Mr. George Plumer Smith of Philadelphia, whose interest in historical studies is of the keenest sort, we are enabled to glean the following information concerning Captain Heart from a letter of Mr. Amos R. Eno of New York City, whose grandmother was first cousin to that gentleman:]

Jonathan Heart was born at Kensington, Connect-

icut, in 1744, graduated from Yale college in 1768, taught school in New Jersey for several years, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War joined the army, remained in the public service from 1775 to 1791, and was slain by the Indians November 4, 1791, at St. Clair's defeat. "He was a gallant and distinguished officer. His life and those of his command were literally offered a sacrifice for the safety of the rest of the army. He married, in 1777, Abigail Riley. Major Heart left one child only, who married but died childless."





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O. G. Hensscy

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